Views and Vistas

K. M. Munshi

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY-7

Acharya
M.S.P. - Sharma

VIEWS AND VISTAS

Nothing makes me happier than settling down with paper before me and pen in hand, ready to pour out my heart. As days slip by and sunlight brings its daily freshness, nothing brings me such tender-hearted or joyful company as when, from out of the written page, arises a man or a woman of vivid charm, or stands resurrected some unforgotten experience or a historic incident.

—DR. K. M. MUNSHI

VIEWS AND VISTAS

K. M. MUNSHI

Compiled by
PARS RAM MANWANI

Bhavan's Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya • Bharatiya Vidya
474

1965
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHOWPATTY : BOMBAY

All Rights Reserved

First Edition—March 1965

Price Rs. 7·50

Bhavan's Sri Sankarachar...
474
...tiya Vidya...

PRINTED IN INDIA
By P. H. Raman at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505, Tardeo Arthur Road,
Bombay-34, and Published by S. Ramakrishnan, Executive Secretary,
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7.

PREFACE

It gives me immense pleasure in bringing out this volume containing gems collected from the vast literature that has been created by Munshiji—the great Gandhian still at constructive work.

The present selection gives only a glimpse of Munshiji's views on men and matters. For more knowledge, one should read the original volumes of Munshiji.

Anyway, I will not stop with my present work. I am thinking of compiling further volumes, each containing Munshiji's thoughts and observations on different aspects of life, and his message to different sections of our society.

In the present volume, I have classified his thoughts and observations under various subjects and arranged the same in alphabetical order, not according to their importance.

I feel that everybody would first like to know the views of Munshiji about himself. Hence, I have taken 'A Retrospect' at the beginning; followed by Kulapati's Letter No. 54 which solves the major problems baffling our younger generation. There can be no better proof of the efficacy of these solutions than Munshiji's own life.

I am confident that this volume will be a guide as well as a source of information and inspiration for the present as well as for future generations.

Pars Ram Manwani

Delhi:
October 2, 1964.

Re: CONTENTS

The views and vistas presented in this volume are classified and arranged in alphabetical order. An exhaustive Index is appended (pp. 275-282), which will serve as a Table of Contents.

—PUBLISHERS

Dedicated

To the Memory of

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

A RETROSPECT

I really do not know how to thank you. If I was addressing a court about other people's affairs, if I was combating someone or something, I would have a lot to say. But I am crushed under the weight of your affection.

I have reached my sixtieth year. But I feel today as much a beginner as when I began. Like a rolling stone which gathers no moss, I have gathered neither knowledge, experience, nor wisdom; but, unlike the stone, I have gathered many friends, and I thank God for it.

One of the volumes of my autobiography I have styled *The Steep Climb.* The whole of my life has been a steep climb; from a weak childhood to a tolerably good health at sixty; from an eating house costing Rs. 5/: a month to a comparative luxury; from complete obscurity to some recognition; from inability to frame two sentences well, to half a hundred volumes in every branch of prose. But God has been indeed good. I have climbed, no doubt strenuously, but laughing, playing, running. Sometimes I have stumbled, but on my way I have picked flowers, and every morn has brought me new joy.

I have fought ceaselessly against frustration, despair and inertia. I have fought every philosophy of life that I considered false. I gained success but I was never content with it. I made money, but I could not remain satisfied with making it all the time. I was popular in 1930—over a hundred thousand people came to receive me at the Victoria Terminus. I have been unpopular; critics how called me a traitor to the country and to Gandhiji—the Master whose affection and confidence I have cherished more than most things in the world. My writings have been both admired and condemned.

I am indifferent to praise or blame. But it is not the result of vanity; this attitude has been acquired by me through a long and strenuous struggle. In the words of Sri Krishna—"indifferent to praise or censure"—I have always found the greatest strength.

Like most men, I have concealed thoughts and often acted contrary to what I thought proper. But ever since I can remember, I have hated divergence between thought, word and deed.

It was a hard, ceaseless struggle for achieving this unity.

I often yearned for strength and courage; and I was weak, sensitive and timid. I wanted words to be like burning shafts—and I was shy, diffident, unable to speak well. I wanted hungering, all-absorbing love—and the life around me furnished no scope for it. I wanted my motherland to be powerful; and I found her sons enslaved. I longed to be a 'Rishi' as my forefathers were, and I was no more than a little Brahmin boy enclosed in a fossilized religious and social groove. And like a child trying to grasp the moon, I struggled to project my world of imagination into reality. I yearned; I cried and struggled; at times I thought of killing myself; and I worked. I was neither a philosopher nor a man of great intellect. But my heart was full of passionate longings and my soul of irrepressible tumult. Through vast, foolish programmes of self-development, through laborious efforts to become what I called "the incessant wheel of work"; through childish efforts at crudely practised Yoga, I tried to bring unity to my imagination, word and reality—and I only succeeded in bringing confusion instead.

Through this confusion something, neverthless, led me on—something that was unattainable and yet which roused high enthusiasm. Napoleon's deeds, Dayanand's fiery gospel, Sri Aurobindo's prophetic vision, all threw light on this something. Oft it took the shape of a phantom—a vision of beauty. And the beauty and strength which I missed in real life, I tried to create in my imagination; and thus I gave them life in words. My passing experiences became piquant situations in my fantasy. My problems became heroes and heroines. My unspoken sentiments found a voice in their speech. I was repelled by reality, the problem of poverty, the difficulty of making my way in this hideous city of ours—but I was also moulded by it.

I turned to the writing of romantic plays. I almost gave up the effort at attaining unity of thought, word and deed. But *Yogasutra* was there—my sacred recital day and night—though practised mostly for worldly ends. Then I studied the *Mahabharata*, the mighty Book of Life. It was 1922, and I was shaken out of the self-complacency of a successful lawyer and author.

That something which was leading me on became a Pillar of Fire, though shrouded in smoke. Suddenly, as if under its magic influence, the vision of Beauty came to life. My dream became reality, yet was more unattainable than any dream. Through years of trial and torture, with the aid of whatever little training I had in Yoga, I summoned all my powers to prevent the unattainable Beauty that had come to life from vanishing again into nothingness. The dream became reality unexpectedly, with startling suddenness. In that moment of realization, two Truths, fundamentally woven into Aryan Culture, yet which I had not perceived before, appeared to my dazzled eyes.

My individual nature alone prescribed my way of life; to pursue this way was the law of my being; any other law for me was false and fraught with fear. To be ready to die any minute to fulfil this law of life was my self-realization—this was the first of the two Truths.

The other Truth which I perceived rent for me, once and for ever, the curtain separating creative art from creative life; whenever my concentration on any object or experience was steadfast, vivid and intense, to the elimination of my consciousness of being myself, it became creative; and creation followed.

Sri Krishna and Patanjali, the great Masters, had taught these truths to the world. It was given to me, a humble worldly man, to capture—in a little way—their secrets in actual life. The vision of beauty, for which I had yearned so intensely, thus became a true living reality for me.

The Pillar of Fire was assuming a definite shape as it led me on, destroying the mists of sorrow and defeat and guiding me from darkness into light. For a moment it took the form of Gandhiji. I saw how the Truths which I had captured had come to life in him. Then one evening, under the influence of a highly charged imagination, I saw the Pillar of Fire in all its blazing glory. The Radiance blinded me, but in that moment my faith in Aryan Culture was strengthened a million-fold.

In that wonderful light, I felt I understood the secrets of Sri Aurobindo and Gandhiji, of Aryan Culture as an eternal, overarching phenomenon of life. Truth—compactness of thought, word and deed—stood revealed as but a step to the Absolute Integration of Human Personality attained through a stern adherence to the Law of Moral Causation on which the order of the Universe was ordained.

But to understand a truth is one thing, to concentrate on it is another—to realise it by creative concentration is again quite different—and so infinitely more difficult.

I have tried to understand the phenomenon of Aryan Culture—its spread, its trials, its triumphs, its eternal power. My English works—*Gujarat and Its Literature, The Aryans of the West Coast, The Imperial Gurjaras, The Creative Art of Life, Bhagvad-Gita and Modern Life*—are but feeble attempts at studying this phenomenon. I know that the picture I have drawn is but a faint, inadequate sketch of what I saw. How I wish I had the creative touch of a master artist—a Vyasa, a Homer, a Phedias, a Michael Angelo!

In my active life the Pillar of Fire has led me on, often without my knowing it. Building up a tradition of law and order, the spreading of the gospel of Akhanda Hindustan, the constructive effort which has culminated in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and the little contributions towards restoring India to the free and mighty Aryavarta of our dreams, are but the materialisation of an urge which is not mine, but only lent to me. For I know, I feel, that I am of the earth, earthy. Effective integration of personality, without which creation is not possible, is not for one like me. Attachment, fear and wrath have not been easy for me to control, much less to subdue. You say I have achieved something, but I know I have achieved nothing. I have tried to keep my gaze fixed on the Pillar of Fire, now distinct, now enveloped in a phosphorescent blaze, now lost in a cloud. I have but the crude, passing expression of the Radiance through the weak vehicle which I know myself to be.

—Reply to felicitations at his Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, held at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, on the 7th January 1947

THEN AND NOW—HORROR OF TRUTH—SPIRITUAL READINESS

As I come to the 'Mody Heights' for a walk, the sun flares red behind the pine trees. Above the hill tops the drifting clouds hang pink and blue in the golden light. A cool breeze brings refreshing calmness to the soul. On the ground the bamboo grass joyously waves its tender ends. The branches of the tall pines—like the giant fingers of an expert dancer—move with rythmic grace.

Many years ago I used to walk on my solitary rounds amidst waving shrubs and dancing branches through the glades of Matheran. But the quality of that experience and of this are different.

Is this age or experience ? My growing grand-children are proof positive, if need be, of my advancing age. But I am afraid that, so far at any rate, I feel disgracefully unoldish. I have never felt discontented with any time of my life, whatever it was. I never had to abandon my pleasures and pursuits with regret, nor have I ever clung in desperation to my old habits of life.

There is no doubt, however, about one thing. I feel the same interest in each passing hour, and my struggle to grow has not lost its zest. Thirty years ago the grass, the trees and the birds had a different message for me. They told me of romance; of conquest; of undreamt accomplishments; of a life of increasing power and success. Then the ecstasies proceeded from keener perception and more passionate thrills; the disappointments and discouragements were more keenly felt. Then I was mightily impatient if my personal aims were not immediately achieved.

The world on which I then looked was both mysterious and wonderful; partly a clod of earth which I was there to lift; partly a place of disappointment, of suffering and woes. Now the world is more charming. I do not wait for haunting beauties to stir my blood; a sweeter kind of beauty makes itself felt.

In the old days, I could not look upon a moonlight night without painful yearning for stormy joys. Now, whether I am with or without a companion, it has an unutterable charm., Years ago Sappho's Songs and Mira's *bhajans*, Goethe's *Werter* and Shelly's *Epipsychidion* stirred the fire of passion in me; and I was electrified by a powerfully charged current of emotions. These poems move me still, but their appeal is different; the fire is cooler and more luminous.

Now I move in the world with a far wider range of experience and I am often able to become the detached witness. I make less demands on the world; emotions, subtler and gentler, thrill me with the magic of sweet slow music. I do not see the world only in relation to me as before; often the whole of its movement becomes visible. I sometimes see the infinite process of transformation behind political and social problems. I even see the forces that move in a steady stream behind the froth and foam of personality.

I now realise that many of what I called my ideals and tastes were not my own; they were imaginary, conventional, or borrowed; the difficulty, however, was to convince myself that they were so. I was afraid that if I approached the problems in a truthful way, my illusions would be destroyed. It was only by a great effort that I overcame a horror of truth, and grew able to think of my own truth and to identify myself with it.

This is one of the common human weaknesses. We are always glad that we have escaped truth, for we feel that it has saved us from taking the responsibility of thinking and deciding for ourselves. We feel no joy at continuously passing our thoughts through the fire of truth—which is, in fact, real experience. That is why we like passing thoughts, but not creative ones. Creation is always painful.

I am now convinced that the habit of creative thinking is responsible for one's change of outlook on the problems of the world, not age. It has revealed to me the illusory character of some of my old attitudes.

For instance, thirty years ago, I was terribly self-conscious. When I encountered anyone I wanted to impress him, or to get my way of things accepted. And if I did not create the desired impressions or get my way, I was overcome by morbid pain. I felt as if my failure was going to be announced the next minute from every house-top. Often enough I had the crushing sense of being a complete failure.

This craving for being impressive has, to a great extent, left me now, because of creative thinking. It took me time to overcome the horror of this truth, which came to me later. You cannot impress nor can you carry your point, unless you are truthful, that is, unless your whole being quivers with the energy of creative thought.

I am now content to think my own thoughts and speak my own language. There is no doubt that I still feel that I should entertain my friends; or that when I meet them I should tell them frankly what I think—and not talk polished nonsense. But now I am more at ease; I find myself less interested in myself and more in others. I do not demand agreement, because I know that it is valueless. I also know that it is very difficult for people who have no power of creative thought to agree with the creative thought of others.

Creative thought, I may warn you, is not merely intellectual. The passionate collaboration of our emotions and aspirations must form a part of it. Then, and then only, will it become the expression of a personality more or less integrated. What makes for creative thought therefore, is not its subject, but its quality. It is a thought which has been intensively felt and has become a 'seeing' thought.

The range of things that can stimulate creative thought is unlimited. Sometimes it can be a trivial impact—a sunset; the swift flight of a bird; the glimpse of a golden cloud. More often it is the result of conscious, persistent effort to see into the heart of things.

In every case, however, a creative thought must emerge like a new-born babe out of our whole being, for it is real only to the extent that it is seen and felt and experienced, that it changes you and is always with you, even as it grows. Its birth—like the birth of a child—is painful, and, like modern women, we do not like to undergo birth-pangs. So we turn to the newspaper, the wireless or the gramophone, golf or bridge, or the most fantastic of things, the crossword puzzles and comics, for escape. We welcome almost anything rather than the thinking of our thoughts.

Once I thought that money, position, success, ceaseless energy, could affect the trend of events. But events can only be influenced by creative thought, for it springs from spiritual readiness. Money, position, success or energy, appear to affect this trend, but, in fact, it is not they that create the effect. It is the spiritual readiness behind them which secures the results.

We do not often realise the part which spiritual readiness plays in fulfilling our ambitions. That is why, when our ambition remains unfulfilled, we become frustrated. Failure would lose its demoralising effect if one realised that one was not ready for the fulfilling of ambition; that one had not acquired the inner readiness to put forward that quality of effort and thought necessary for fulfilling it.

Security, wealth, and fame, therefore, only influence events, if they are manifestations of the higher will. It is not Arjuna's victory or defeat that matters; but the quality of surrender unto God which he brings to bear on his immediate duty.

There is a superstition that lack of money means real want. Again, it is not so. I speak from experience. From 1902 to 1916 I was poor, terribly poor. But that did not make me unhappy. When there was no money, I just gave up wanting things. When I went to jail, I was determined to give up wanting things and never lacked them. This was a lesson to me. So long as I am spiritually ready for the things that come in my way, regardless of what they are, I am happy, money or no money.

Material security, therefore, without spiritual security, is no security at all. It is at the mercy of public catastrophe, revolution, inflation, depression; of the whims of fate or of its instruments, the paymasters. What has happened to the millions in Central Europe, who, forty years ago, based their life on material security ?

But the real security depends just on oneself; on our capacity to link our fate with God. Sri Krishna said : *Yogakshemam vahamyaham.* "It is I," He said, "that bears the burden of the subsistence of those who love Me." It is a guarantee that we shall never be left with less than we deserve. This is spiritual readiness.

One of the greatest errors is to endow material security with such value that we hanker after its performance. Every day must bring its own security.

But the passion for security would continue to have its charms even if we did not develop the spiritual readiness. We cannot solve the economic problem of individuals or nations by preaching their unimportance. A flippant attitude towards material welfare is not spiritual; any more than that which pins its faith on mere material welfare.

For instance, the doctrine of material welfare, as our economics would have it, insists on more wages, more privileges, more holidays, more leisure. But dissociated from spiritual readiness—as unfortunately it is in these days—it only means more malingering more demands, more strikes; more idle hours and more questionable pleasures; greater discontent and swifter destructiveness.

The same is true of success. Success suddenly acquired is as great a shock as the deepest sorrow or the ghastliest failure. If there is no spiritual readiness, our materialistic attitude becomes all the stronger; the appetites increase, but bring no joy. The real value of a hard-won success is the broadening of the understanding and the development of spiritual readiness, which comes in its wake.

The same rule holds good of sex. Once a sexual act is permitted for itself alone, a hunger for such acts grows and seeks satisfaction. If there is no spiritual readiness to sublimate it, joy disappears; imagination becomes insistent and has to be satisfied every time by grosser forms of indulgence. But if there is spiritual readiness, every memory of the sublimated act will possess its own rare beauty.

In all these matters we cannot develop spiritual readiness, because we become victims of our vanity, the prime characteristic of our ego. If we were not so led, success might teach us a wider view of things, enlarge our outlook and strengthen our spiritual attitude. What counts is not security, success or satisfaction, but the ceaseless efforts that we put forward and the failures we survive. These are the training schools for spiritual readiness. It is only when success follows that training that we come to regard it as something for which we are not responsible. Then we become humble. We see the hand of God. We realise His aim and purpose.

—Kulapati's Letter No. 54, 8th August 1954

ABSOLUTE INTEGRATION

The Absolute Integration of the human personality has been called by different names—Kaivalya, Moksha, Nirvana, Samsiddhi, and Matsamsthana, in Sanskrit; Tana, Wasl, and Fana in Arabic; Perfection and Union with God in English. But when analysed the substance is the same in all cases.

This Absolute Integration of human personality is not a matter of religion, rituals or beliefs. It appears as a constant factor in all religions. It accompanies varying rituals and beliefs. But these are mere crusts; the reality is Integration. Again, it has nothing to do with the caste system, for when the Integration is established all distinctions of race and creed and sex and genus disappear. It has nothing to do with heaven or hell or other births or next worlds. It is achieved in this life, with this body, and in the daily affairs of life.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The first pre-condition of a proper growth of intellectual and moral atmosphere is academic freedom; without a free intellectual community, the frontiers of human knowledge cannot be extended. But this is an age of slogan-mongering and the phrase 'academic freedom' is often squeezed out of its real meaning to defend the existing inertia. It is also made to serve as a shield to protect internal affairs of a university from scrutiny. This is a short-sighted view. If academic freedom has to be maintained, it should be understood in its true meaning and its scope, extent and limitations should be kept clearly in mind.

Academic freedom implies the right to freedom of thought; an ever-present spirit of investigation and criticism; an atmosphere of disciplined freedom and mutual confidence. The freedom must extend not merely to the analysis, criticism and assessment or re-assessment of the phenomena of the physical world, but also to similar scrutiny and appraisal of institutions, beliefs, ideals and experiences—even if the ideas and experiences appear to be dangerous.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

ACHARYA

In Vedic Culture the institution of 'acharya' was a vital one. He was the spiritual parent of his pupils, to be revered. In later times this led to the tradition of 'guru parampara', spiritual descent from teacher to pupil, which gave continuity to educational tradition, techniques and ideals.

Atharvaveda compares the acharya to a spiritual mother carrying the pupil within him. Later the *Upanishads* were to describe him as a deity, for after three days of strict discipline under the acharya, the pupil became 'a spiritual wonder, whom even the Gods came to see.'

—Foundations of Indian Culture

ACTION

Action without prayer is blind groping; with prayer it becomes honest and effective.

—Replies to the Reader

In our country, we have too much of planning, too much discussion, too much report-making and too many conferences, when prompt and forceful action is necessary.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

ADVENTURE

Life is a great adventure, and the joy of life comes only to the man who looks upon an adventure with joy.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

AGHORIS

The sect of 'aghoris' live in funeral grounds and besmear themselves with ashes, following Siva in His aspect of Bhairava. They follow the tradition of long-forgotten tribes to whom Siva, wearing the garlands of skulls and the ornaments of serpents and His body besmeared with ashes, was the tutelary deity.

—Somnath : The Shrine Eternal

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

To teach a student of agriculture at second-hand through the printed word is hopelessly inadequate. He should learn to read the language that Nature inscribes on the Soil; he must understand that language better than any other; for only then will agricultural education be a living art. In the light of this experience, all colleges of agriculture should have villages allotted to them in which they may train the students in this art.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

AJANTA CAVES

When alone, I thought and thought of the wonder which is Ajanta. It does not contain an art collection as does the Vatican and the Louvre. Here is a whole world of beauty; trees, creepers, flowers, foliage, elephants, horses, monkeys; peacocks and swans; men, women and children; bacchanalian orgies; foreigners clad in strange garbs; stern celibates and ardent lovers; Bodhisattva; 'apsaras' and flying 'yakshas'. Most scenes are dominated by women of undulating and elusive charm, grace in every line of their bodies; breathing, pulsating, thrilling with love or devotion. Anger, repentance, passion and peace are also here. And the central figure of the Buddha, radiating purity and compassion, dominates them all.

What a wild profusion of grace and beauty—what a glowing vision as if seen in a dream!

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

ALIEN CULTURE

We seek no structural relationship with any alien culture. Our collective mind unconsciously revolts against adopting a pattern of life foreign to us. We borrow freely from others; at any rate, where such loan is essential for our progress; but we wish to remain Indians.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

ANCIENT INDIA

Millions and millions of years ago, India as we know now did not exist. Its area south of the Aravalli Mountain was a part of a land mass named by the geologists as Gondwanaland, which was connected with Mauritius in the west and the South-East-Asian archipelago in the east. The Himalayas and the whole of North India were under the sea, similarly named the Sea of Tethys.

Then the Himalayas rose out of the Sea of Tethys inch by inch. As ages went past, a huge land mass arose in its place. The rivers flowing from it brought down silt, to be deposited to form what is now North India. The waters of the Sea ot Tethys spilt over to what is now the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The rivers of the Deccan flowing to its shores were buried under the alluvial plains of Rajasthan, U.P., the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Manipur.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

ANIMALS

We, present-day Indians, have no genuine appreciation of the value of our animals in the economy of the country. Certainly we have not the love which cherishes, protects and enters into the life of the animal. To our ancestors, Nandi was a god whose upkeep was a matter of high religious importance; mother cow was a living goddess of plenty, living in the same house, surrounded by the affection and devotion of the family. We had the national festivals—Gopashtami, sacred to the bull and the cow; Dasshera, sacred to the horse who was to be worshipped as a symbol of victory. We have degraded them; they are just animals; and our sin will be visited on our heads till we repair this wrong.

—*Inaugural Speech at the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Veterinary College, Bombay, 25th December 1951*

ARABIAN NIGHTS

Some of the stories in the Arabian Nights can be traced to early Indian sources.

—*Gujarat and Its Literature*

ARMED FORCES

Let us make no mistake about it. No society can exist in the foreseeable future without a vigorous and effective instrument of armed defence.

—*Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters*

ART OF WRITING

The romance of the word is the most fascinating of all romances. It was born in the throat of some early ancestor of ours in the late Cenozoic periods as laborious repetitions of grunts and growls expressing some crude sentiment of fear or sex. After the lapse of an incalculable period of time the word transformed the destiny of man when some enterprising cave-dweller, while drawing a picture of some memorable hunt, was inspired to draw a graphic presentation of an object in such a manner that it represented an idea connected with the object itself.

The picture-writing of the pre-historic period then became the highest achievement of man. Such pictograms were, after ages, developed into the art of writing, when a picture was used not merely to represent an idea associated with the object drawn, but to represent a sound. The next triumph was achieved when, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, a system of phonetics was adopted, in which a picture stood for the sound of each syllable in a name.

The Egyptians and the Babylonians, whom we meet at the dawn of history, had already developed a system of syllabics. The Egyptians who were the first to evolve hieroglyphics are credited with the earliest books written on papyrus.

—*Address at the 5th All-India Library Conference,*
Bombay, 3rd April 1942

ARYANS

From the beginning of their occupation of India, the Aryans' hold over the country was more cultural than political or economic. It was a conquest made by men who, generation after generation, created or studied literature, sacred or profane, at Banaras, Taxila, Nalanda, Mathura, Ujjayini and a hundred other similar places. They lived under trying, if not well-nigh impossible, conditions and gave to the people, in return for a meagre maintenance, religion, ethics, literature, mythology, and above all, a self-conscious cultural unity. The problem before them was the absorption of the foreign, the depressed and the backward elements of society around them into the fold of their civilization.

—*Gujarat and Its Literature*

ARYAVARTA—HOME OF DHARMA

This India—Aryavarta—was the ancient home of Dharma. Here it was first studied, taught and practised. Here the seers of the *Upanishads* and Vyasa and Sri Krishna and following them, men inspired by their teaching, made it the heirloom of succeeding generations.

Here, cultural values were shaped in its light—more than in any other country. Social values and institutions have been built with a view to making it easy for men to live up to it. And the values based on mere sense-satisfaction—the basic stuff on which materialism flourishes—has never been treated as reality by those who dominate the collective unconscious of the race. And, generation after generation, gifted men have found self-fulfilment in living up to it.

However, Aryavarta is not a mere geographical expression. It has no territorial boundaries; it has no political entity. Wherever God is a Reality and wherever the twin laws are consciously or unconsciously accepted as the major discipline in life by the collective mind and wherever Dharma provides the goal, there Aryavarta is. Whoever stands for Dharma lives for Aryavarta, and whoever lives in Aryavarta, works for Dharma.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 29th May 1960*

ASHRAM

Each 'ashram' was a closely knit family bound by reverence for the presiding rishi. It was a little university; it was not a service station supported by the people for utilitarian ends. It rested on the collective support of the community, which looked up to it as the source of inspiration for a life well lived. In its turn, it helped in uplifting the individual and collective life through *yajna* or sacrifice; *diksha* or consecration; *brahmacharya* or disciplined studentship; or *brahman* or prayer.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

ASPIRATION

How does a fundamental aspiration present itself? I have found but one test. Does it give me a joy which fades not nor fails? Normally I have found it in the pursuit of creative beauty, or perhaps through effort, love, behaviour, words, sounds, stones, or colour, and, above all, through the integration of the personality.

What is this self-transcending urge which drives me to seek beauty—an urge which is so different from that of an animal which lives and dies and seeks no larger self?

It is an aspiration which comes to man in every age, even in those of the greatest material comfort. The men who have it are thrilled. They rise towards pure joy; their life becomes dedicated. Those to whom aspirations do not come, sink and become insects.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

ASTROLOGY

Those of us who are familiar with the self-assurance of well-known astrologers know how, if one prediction fails, there is always another *graha-yoga* ready to explain what has happened.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

ASTROLOGY—BHRIGU SAMHITA

These books therefore establish: First, that the horoscope i.e. the chart of heavens at a particular time, can yield an accurate forecast of the life, temperament and achievement of the individual born at the time. The planets, therefore, have a definite role to play in the life of an individual as determinative influences or, as Sri Aurobindo thought, indicative forces.

Secondly, by some process—yogic or otherwise—it is possible to find out from the correct planetary position at birth the name of such an individual, as also the names of his forefathers, relations and friends and several people who are connected with him.

Thirdly, by concentrating on the horoscope by yogic power associated with some rules not generally known to orthodox astrology, the vision of the seer can be projected to a time when the circumstances of the individual can be seen not only as at the reading, but also as related to his then past and his then future.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 21st February 1960*

ATMAN

Death is a physical (or biological) phenomenon. Brahman is a spiritual reality. Brahman is the reality behind physical life and death. The separation of the Atman from the body refers to the jivatman and not to the Supreme Atman which is really all-pervasive.

*

The mind and the Atman are not one according to Indian philosophy. The mind, along with the *antahkarana*, *buddhi* and the sense organs, is considered a limitation or *upadhi* of the Atman concealing its excellence. The impulses and external forces affect the mind, not the Atman.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

ATOMIC AGE

If the world wants to escape the horrors of the atomic age, the scientist must be first and foremost a man of culture, an artist in self-sculpture. His vocation, to him, is but an instrument of a self-fulfilment to be attained, not with the dire weapons of an angry Jove but with the integration of a Buddha.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

ATOMIC WAR

There has been a rude awakening of the human conscience in matters of international conflict. It is largely due to the devastating prospects of an atomic war.

*

Under modern conditions, a war with nuclear weapons would imply total mobilisation of men and resources, mutual destruction and uncertain victory.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

ATOMIC WEAPONS

With the Hydrogen Bomb, man has entered upon a new era. Every time he has mastered new forces of Nature and used them for destructive purposes, an age has closed and another has begun. Fire, gun-powder, electricity, the discovery of each ushered in a new era on the globe. Now with the Hydrogen Bomb no one can foresee the possibilities of the new life. And no sooner is the Hydrogen Bomb perfected than we are threatened with a still greater nightmare—Cobalt Bomb.

This murderous tendency in man has shaken the faith of many in the future of man. Even those who believe in the goodness of God naturally ask : "Has man grown so wicked that by a Higher Justice he should be doomed to extinction?" The temptation to reply "yes" is overwhelming.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

AUTHOR

An author is free, a law unto himself. Criticism, popular wishes, the dictates of your political thoughts and the mandates of your leaders, these are all fetters. Let them not stifle your creative art. No person or thing can clip the wings of your imagination save your own cowardice. Let your vision rest on a limitless horizon. No one has a right to restrict it. The beauty that is enshrined in your heart is the only deity that you need worship. Your salvation lies in opening your heart and bringing forth the immortal gods enshrined therein for others to view and worship if they choose.

—*Presidential Address of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Udaipur, 6th October 1945*

AVATAR

God is omniscient and omnipotent in His Absolute Nature, but when He limits that nature and descends in human body, He accepts the limitations to which it is subject. As an 'avatar', therefore—as I conceive it—God only practises the art of human life expressing Beauty, Power, Love, Light or Calm, i.e. one of the fundamental aspirations to its highest possible degree.

—Replies to the Reader

AYURVEDA

I cannot imagine any other branch of knowledge which has stood the test of centuries, and yet has suffered so much on account of foreign rule. The attitude of the practitioners of the Western healing art has so upset values that there is more confusion of thought and approach in respect of Ayurveda than of any other subject in India today.

*

In the past Ayurveda had a great record of research. Charak, centuries ago, first isolated sugar in diabetes. Bhava Mishra of Kashi, as early as the seventeenth century, studied venereal diseases known as 'Firangi Roga'—the diseases of the Portuguese. It was Trimulbhatt who discovered that arsenic was a remedy for these diseases. Ehrlich used it for the first time only in the twentieth century. Only yesterday 'Sarpagandha', used by Ayurveda for ages for insanity, hysteria and that ailment which we now call blood-pressure, was announced all over the world as a great discovery of modern sicence: Ranwolfia Sepentina.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

AYURVEDIC EDUCATION

In whatever way Ayurvedic education is provided, one aim must be kept in view: the student must learn to have faith in Ayurveda and must be educated in the background of Sanskrit texts and under conditions in which he does not develop an inferiority complex towards allopathy. At the same time, to overcome the illogical hostility of allopaths, some general knowledge of Ayurveda, its achievements and its successes should form part of the course in allopathy. If it does nothing else, it will bring the allopath a much-needed humility.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

How can I, a novelist, forget the father of India's literary renaissance who, jointly with Alexandre Dumas, fanned my little creative spark into flame—Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya? Like a second Bhagiratha he brought down to earth our other-worldly religious devotion, in order to fertilise secular efforts.

—Convocation Address at the University of Calcutta,
20th March 1948

BEAUTY

Beauty and joy can never be divorced from each other. A thing of beauty gives unfading joy. Where there is no joy, there is no beauty. An architect expresses beauty through stone; a poet through words; a man of culture through manners; a 'bhakta' through his emotions; and when we see these things, we feel more of ourselves than we were.

—Presidential Address at the All India Cultural Congress, Delhi,
18th March 1951

The hunger for Beauty—Beauty in words, in colour and in stone, in life and in character—has no transient limitations set up by different ages, races or countries. It is not given to everyone to satisfy this hunger—the capacity to satisfy the hunger for Beauty cannot be given by law, or public opinion, or the votes of men, or by ingenuity of artifice. But the man to whom this capacity is given has but one law— to enjoy Beauty, to create Beauty and to impart to others such a vision of it as he can.

—Sparks from the Anvil

Perception of beauty depends not upon the natural beauty which surrounds us but upon the presence and the power of the fundamental aspiration. We may nourish the aspiration by a study of beautiful things. We may train it to remain with us for some time, once it has been evoked. We may strengthen it by keeping in constant sympathy with the beauties of nature. But its source and strength are both derived from the spirit within.

*

When I am alone, quiet and patient, I enter into an all-embracing calm. Then I live in the beauty that lies in the stream, that makes the music, or the birds that twitter in ancient trees, or in the vast spaces on every side, or in the stream which spreads out at my feet.

The tree, the cloud, the flower, and the stream which give us this mysterious satisfaction are but magic symbols of the beauty that lies within. It is there, real, insistent, undeniable. It is a symbol of Reality. If once the spirit of beauty is captured, the gates of Life Divine are opened and not even death can close them.

—Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters

BEAUTIFUL LIFE

A beautiful life is not a life of richness or comforts. The life of many of our rich men is anything but beautiful—ugly, morbid with passions and frustrated because of a ceaseless craving for pleasure. On the other hand, the life of many members of the middle income groups, living in austere poverty, is more often devoted to learning and service, lived in harmony and love and sometimes in beauty.

No life is beautiful or happy until we learn to look upon it as a solemn burden which we have to bear cheerfully to reach the goal of self-fulfilment. Bharatiya Vidya is a training-ground for leading such a life; it neither fails for sorrow nor falters for sin.

Such a life is possible only if we develop an awareness of continuity with the past by developing a livelier sense of tradition and of the experience gathered by our ancestors.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963

BEAUTIFUL WOMAN

A beautiful woman is a glorious thing in Creation. There is nothing wrong in admiring her. Even dreaming about her can be an ennobling experience, but only when the dreams are dreamt in humility. If that self-restraint which humility imposes is absent, the admiration is nothing but a prurient animal curiosity; an assault—not criminal, but psychological. It degrades him whoever commits it by outraging the very urge to beauty.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

BERLIN—EAST AND WEST

In the afternoon we took a drive in East Berlin. We came to the barricade; our passports were duly scrutinised by the Russian guards at the Brandenburg Gate, an we entered the Russian Zone. From what I saw, I could only describe East Berlin as a ghost city.

Across the road in West Germany, there were newly-built houses, glamorous shop windows, smartly-dressed men and women and shining motor-cars. On this side of the barricade, most areas, bomb-devastated thirteen years ago, still stood as they have been then, with broken-down houses, open spaces heaped with rubbish and the discoloured ruins of palatial buildings standing with gaping mouths.

We drove along the streets—in comparison they were empty. The shops were dimly lit. Only a few people, with all the appearance of want, went up and down the streets, bent on business.

—*The World We Saw*

BHAKRA NANGAL

Modern India should be very proud of this vast engineering feat. If you go to Bhakra Nangal, you will see wonderful things. You will see giant machines doing more than giants' work. You will see mountains being broken up; valleys filled up; rivers made to run this way or that way to order; and you will be able to stand in underground chambers with a river rushing past over your head—almost like Mahadevji with the Ganga on his head.

As a people, we are not sufficiently conscious of the rapid strides we are making. The only way to awaken an emotional awareness of our achievements in the country is to make people see them with their own eyes.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Like a mighty flood, 'bhakti'', as reintegrated by Chaitanya, surged round the love of Radha and Krishna. It entered deep into the popular consciousness, intensifying the emotional awareness of fresh joys. It won liberalising triumphs of the heart over the bondage and suffering which political slavery and social rigidity had imposed upon the country. It imparted freshness to life, creative power to literature and richness to human relations till poets in many parts of India echoed to the sentiment :

"To Vraja alone shall I hie;
But never to Heaven :
For there I cannot meet
Nanda's son, my Darling."

Even now, as we know, in many parts of the country men and women congregate, join with song, music and dance, in the 'Kirtans' to experience the ecstatic glow of a joy which knows neither sin nor suffering.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

As I have been saying all along, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is not merely an institution. It is a movement which has flourished by the will of God. It is now no longer restricted to one place. Branches have sprung up and are springing up in many parts of India. Its message has found a place in the hearts of quite a few hundred thousands of men and women not only in India but in some other parts of the world as well.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963*

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN—ITS MISSION

......of helping the reintegration of Indian culture in an age when culture is losing its high values; of standing for God in an age when to deny God is considered as a badge of superiority; of giving to the coming generation that faith in Sanatana Dharma, to serve which so many of our great men have given their lives.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 24th January 1960*

BHARAT MATA

I do not know who performed the alchemy of converting the 'Punya-bhoomi' Bharat into Bharat Mata, the Mother. I have come across a *stotra* of uncertain authorship and date, containing an invocation to Bharat as the Mother, which ends thus :

> "O, Compassionate Mother, bless us that we may, in every birth, serve you with our wealth, heart, body and our progeny."

So far as I know, Bankim Chandra Chatterji was the first to perform this alchemy in literature. Bharat was no longer the sacred land; it was Durga, the Mother Goddess, 'wielding ten arms, whose sixty crores of hands hold the swords aloft.'

Soon Bharat Mata was no longer the Goddess of the Hindus; She was the Mother of all who lived in India. This change in the concept was the result of the impact of Western nationalism on the Indian mind. But to the Indian mind, patriotism was not merely a political sentiment as in the West; it was a sentiment charged with high emotional loyalty and deep religious devotion. And so, it came to be reflected in Indian literature throughout the country.

—Bhavan's Journal, 21st July 1963

BHARAT SEWAK SAMAJ

If democracy is to succeed, we must have many more such spontaneous movements. The Bharat Sewak Samaj is conceived as such a movement and can be a great democratic force. But it can fulfil its role only if it is able to inspire the people to take an initiative in the economic, social and moral uplift of the country. Those actively associated with Government, as in the case of Bhoodan Movement, have to associate themselves with it. The Bharat Sewak Samaj will justify its existence only if it is run as a movement of the people, by the people and for the people, supplementing the activities of official agencies, yet throwing up its own initiative, its own traditions and its own programme.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

BHATS

The 'Bhats' flourished in Gujarat for more than five hundred years, but have fallen on evil days with the advent of the press, the theatre, and the cinema. They provided free entertainment and education, religious and secular, and helped to preserve Puranic literature. But these poets were scarcely qualified to reproduce the spirit, the art, or the idealism of the original Puranas;

and were mostly content with mechanical repetition of narrative verses handed down from teacher to disciple. Their range of emotion, sentiment and thought was limited; their languags, suited to an illiterate audience, lacked refinement and expressiveness. Sometimes, only a Bhalan or a Premanand could break the monotony by a word-picture of contemporary life, or by a charming song full of homely sentiments.

—Gujarat and Its Literature

BOMBAY

Bombay is a symbol of our national unity, a microcosm of what India is. We have, in Bombay, Marathi, Gujarati, Konkani, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Portuguese, Sindhi—even Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada— speaking people. It represents almost all the regions of India and its spirit has always been national—not regional.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

BOOKS

Though reams and reams of the printed matter being daily turned out all over the world are doomed to early oblivion, the printed book will enable the genuine word to travel fast to all the corners of the world. Every book is therefore the shrine of the word to be approached with veneration, for it contains the germ of Divinity. Books viewed in this way are more than life. They mould life itself; they make it worth living. They can make the hearts of men and women throb, their cheeks glow, their eyes sparkle. When they are works like the *Bhagvad-Gita* and the *Bible*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, and the dramas of Shakespeare, they are majestic expressions, of not merely what Emerson calls the Universal Conscience, but also of that creativeness which alone ennobles, uplifts and inspires man in his struggle against the sordidness of life, and against the unbridled ferocity of nature and his fellow men.

—Address at the 5th All-India Library
Conference, Bombay, 3rd April 1942

BRAHMACHARYA

The word 'Brahmacharya' is ordinarily restricted to sexual continence or suppression. This narrow meaning is misleading. Its real meaning is 'Non-Waste'; non-waste of mental, verbal and bodily powers. In that sense alone, the aspirant is asked to be *yatavaakkaayamaanasah*—controlled in word, body and mind.

—*The Bhagvad-Gita : An Approach*

BRAHMIN

A Brahmin was to be respected only because of his learning, character and devotion to truth and dedication, and his forswearing luxuries and denying himself self-indulgence. Excellence in the discharge of his duties was the only qualification which entitled him to be considered 'a god on earth'. If he departed from this code, he fell from his estate; he forfeited his prestige.

A Brahmin, if he did not know the *Vedas* or gathered wealth or power, or forswore poverty, was no longer entitled to a Brahmin's dignity; he was to be classed as low. Even Brahmin kings were looked down upon by society as a whole.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

BRUTALITY

So long as the truth in man survives, innocence, Non-violence and the diginity of man have to be protected against brute force, by force, not out of hatred and vindictiveness but to vindicate the higher claims of Non-violence itself. If the brute triumphs, love can have no scope to flourish.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

BUDDHA, LORD

Lord Buddha occupies a unique position in the annals of mankind. He is the greatest among those who have set out on a mission to save human beings from suffering; the first to transfer the emphasis from metaphysics to a life of practical righteousness and from individual salvation to the salvation of all beings. By the influence of his teachings and personality, he has inspired missionaries, age after age, to show the path of right living by their love.

There is a spurious belief, encouraged by certain Western scholars, that Buddha taught something quite different from Hinduism as it then was and that his teachings were destructive of all that it stood for; that he also denied the existence of the Soul and God. In fact Buddha never denied Hinduism; he was as much a Hindu as Vyasa, who preceded him, and Shankara, who followed him. And he never denied God or the Soul.

To us the Buddha is the Avatar of God, as have been Bhagavan Vyasa, Sri Ramachandra and Sri Krishna. The words he spoke and the way he lived have been woven into the fabric of our lives, and his personality has been indelibly stamped on our Collective Unconscious.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CASTEISM

In some parts of the country we see ugly casteism. We recently saw in other parts an exhibition of parochialism which can only be characterised as 'Disgrace Abounding'. It is no use blaming the hooligan; he only takes advantage of the atmosphere created by educated men. Why did they create it? They did so, because their sense of national unity and decent behaviour was undermined by narrow and crude group selfishness.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

Forget to think in terms of caste. In practice the caste system is going, but what is needed is to uproot the caste complex.

—*Replies to the Reader*

CHAITANYA

Mankind has never seen such love as was Chaitanya's. The individual love of Sappho, Mira, Helois and Laila, are but faint echoes of his. None of them had such a love-torn heart. To none was the lover—in his case Sri Krishna—so ever-present. His emotion had the quality of giving power, light and feeling to whatever it touched. Dances and songs, prayers and 'Kirtan' dedicated to Sri Krishna, swept the country with an emotional flood which was as lyrical as it was ennobling.

Chaitanya never taught and rarely entered into philosophic discussion; nor did he make efforts to gain disciples. When he died in 1533, it was his personality and experiences rather than his teachings which became the inspiration of the 'bhakti' movement. They released new creative forces in Vrindavana; in the rest of India their influence opened the floodgates of a sweeping religious urge, by direct influence, or indirct impact.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

CHANDIGARH

Had Chandigarh, the new capital of East Punjab, been a toy exposed for sale in a shop, it would have found no buyer. Its design is so unfamiliar that at a first glance it is difficult to see whether there is any design at all. Nor would it be easy to discover that it is planned in every particular to suit the complexities of our modern urban needs.

—*Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters*

CHIEF MINISTERS AND COLLEAGUES

A Chief Minister is not the boss because of his being chosen as the leader. An arrogation of superior wisdom or authority, which leads his colleagues to hesitate in placing their views for fear of losing his esteem or favour, is a three-quarters way to negative democracy. It will make the Ministers double-faced, subservient to the Chief Minister, critical behind his back. It will also leave the Chief Minister in isolated grandeur, thereby denying him the opportunity to weigh the pros and cons of a problem before he comes to a decision.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The Christian Missions in this country have done useful educational and humanitarian work and, in a way, set a standard for others.

*

Christianity has, however, tremendous scope as an educational and humanitarian movement and as a force which leads to that love which is Jesus Christ; but its role as a conquering, proselytising religion seeking to save the heathen, is out-of-date and can only evoke resistance.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

CINEMAS

If the cinemas have produced one devastating effect, it is to undermine the sanctity of sex relations.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

CITIES

Large cities have sprung up in India during the last 50 years. Greater Calcutta has a population of about eight millions, Greater

Bombay of four millions, Madras, Delhi, Ahmedabad and Kanpur have almost of one to two millions each. Every one of them is a strain on our food resources, water and fodder. None of their residents helps in restoring the hydrological or the nutritional cycle. Few of them know the Gospel of the Dirty Hand and those who come there long to forget it. With every new city that springs up, the gap in the cycle of life increases.

—*Speech at the First Indian Co-operative Conference,*
Bombay, 25th February 1952

CITIZENSHIP

As citizens of a free and democratic State, all of us have to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. We have therefore to realise what a free democracy means. It is an interplay of free individual life where each seeks to lift the nation to a greater height of achievement. The sanctity of human personality is its very essence.

*

In a democracy, no citizen can afford to be neutral, or indifferent, or timid. It is easy to be courageous with arms in your possession, but in the day-to-day life of a democracy, a courageous citizen is one who stands for law and order; who is conscientious and maintains that democratic atmosphere in which all problems are solved by discussion and persuasion and by constitutional methods.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CIVIL LIBERTIES DURING AN EMERGENCY

"Civil Liberties" is a magic term which in a democracy evokes strong sentiments. Broadly speaking, it means the basic freedoms relating to the person of an individual on which the Rule of Law is founded.

In normal times, the doctrine underlying the term is invoked to arrest the authoritarian tendencies in a government. Even during an emergency, the doctrine is often invoked to see that the emergency powers are not misused or misdirected by the government to the prejudice of the citizen.

474

BVBSSMV

If the term is not to sink into a cliche, the doctrine has to be considered in the light of the conditions in which it is evoked.

For us in India, civil liberties in normal times mean the freedom to exercise the Fundamental Rights under the conditions prescribed in the Constitution. When we talk of them, we have therefore to take note of the balance struck by it between the exercise of Fundamental Rights and the circumstances under which they can be restricted.

The Constitution also provides for the suspension of Fundamental Rights during emergencies arising from internal disruption or external danger. Thus, it assumes that a situation in which emergency is declared may be so abnormal that individuals, during its existence, have to be denied the exercise of civil liberties.

This is as it should be. The very concept of freedom to exercise fundamental rights presupposes the existence of a state of things in which such exercise is conducive to and compatible with the normal life of a free people. Such a state implies stability, of which the elements include: first, the security of the country, secondly, the prevalence of law and order, so that normal legal processes are able to control anti-social or subversive activities.

From this it follows that, where a situation does not permit of a normal course of life, enjoyment of freedom cannot be left unrestricted. In such circumstances, the primary business of a government is to meet the danger which threatens internal stability or external security.

Any comprehensive definition, applicable to all situations when civil liberties can be legitimately restricted or suspended, is beyond human ingenuity. Whether any given situation permits or does not permit of the normal course of life, can only be decided in the light of prevailing circumstances by the government of the day.

The restriction on civil liberties permissible under our Constitution are enough to maintain stability during normal times. But when abnormal times prevail and when the course of life is threatened and ordinary legal processes lose their efficacy, civil liberties have necessarily to yield place to measures directed to meet such a threat.

At such a time, however sacrosanct civil liberties are for normal times, the paramount obligation on the part of the government as well as the saner elements of the public is to preserve or restore normal conditions under which alone they can be enjoyed.

If the threat, unfortunately, becomes real, stability will be undermined and in certain cases freedom extinguished. The chance of civil liberties being ever restored would then disappear.

During World War II, in U.K., even the British Parliament, which gave birth to the concept of civil liberties, vested sweeping powers with the government of the day, to enable it to deal with the life-and-death struggle which the country was facing. The Chamberlain and Churchill governments wielded the powers wisely and with discretion. The public cheerfully surrendered their personal freedom to protect the larger national freedom.

There may be difference of opinion whether there is an emergency or not. But once an emergency is declared to exist—and the declaration is not a dishonest one, inspired by ulterior motives—it necessarily implies that there is a threat to normal life and extraordinary measures are required to successfully meet the challenge. An obligation is immediately imposed on the government to meet it in the best way possible. Insistence on civil liberties being maintained in their normal amplitude is out of question.

Take the restriction on freedom of expression, which is a paramount fundamental right. It is the very basis of democracy. It is so stated in the Preamble to our Constitution. In normal times, freedom of expression can only be restricted under the specific conditions prescribed under the Consitution itself.

However, when there is an emergency, that is, when there is a threat to the stability of normal life, due to internal or external danger, the prescribed restrictions are not adequate. Declaration of emergency itself means that the normal working of the Constitution requires to be restricted or suspended to meet the exigencies created by the emergency.

Let me take an extreme case. We have an emergency arising out of the Chinese aggression which threatens our national existence. Would it be permissible for any one in India to carry on propaganda that the Chinese are coming as saviours of India, or that the Indian soldiers are cowards, or that the members of the Government are Chinese agents? The answer can only be "no". Such propaganda would increase the threat a hundredfold by weakening the national will to resist.

In practice, hostile propaganda is not carried on in such blatant terms. It takes a hundred subtle forms. It exploits the inexhaustible resources of the language to weaken the national will to resist, by insinuations, sarcasm, indirect attacks; all such propaganda could conceivably be argued in a court of law as not endangering security or law and order under the provisions of the Constitution. Should such attempts to weaken the will to resist be permitted?

In an emergency arising from foreign aggression, the external danger has to be resisted, as also internal morale maintained. How can such a morale be maintained if each act of hostile propaganda has to be scanned and argued about in normal judicial trials through publicised proceedings in court after court? By the time the culprit's sentence is finally confirmed by the Supreme Court, the hostile propaganda, intensified by the publicity which a case of this kind receives, would have served its purpose. It would have sufficiently undermined the morale of the people and helped the enemy to carry out the threat.

An emergency would be robbed of its point it prompt action is not taken to meet it, for instance, by preventing any action calculated to weaken resistance to the threat. To think of meeting an emergency by non-emergent action is a contradiction in terms.

I may further illustrate my point by pointing out the difference between emergent and non-emergent action taken under the detention laws passed under Article 22 of our Constitution.

When that Article, empowering the Parliament by law to authorise detention without trial, was before the Constituent Assembly, there was an uproar against it in the name of civil liberties. During the last twelve years also, we have again and again heard the plea that detention laws infringe civil liberties.

I have systematically opposed this view. I yield to none in my love for civil liberties. Not a few of the fundamental rights owe their existence to my uncompromising advocacy of them. And yet, I have defended the detention laws. I consider them as restrictions on personal liberty essential to maintain stability of the State under modern conditions. As one who had to deal with law and order, I found them indispensable. So have Sardar, Rajaji, Pantji—three great Home Ministers of Free India—who yielded to none in their love of individual liberty.

The resistance to the detention law arises from a carry-over of the mid-Victorian concept that society could be protected from serious threats through normal processes of ordinary judicial trials.

The history of the last hundred years on the other hand proves that under the conditions that prevail at present, these normal processes are no longer adequate to maintain well-ordered existence in a society. Conspiratorial techniques have been devised which can successfully circumvent these processes and have been perfected by crooks, conspirators and revolutionaries, to carry on anti-social activities or subvert stable Governments pledged to democratic forms.

Normal processes of law are based on the hypothesis that all anti-social or subversive activities could be established in a court of law under well-accepted canons of evidence. But the new techniques are devised successfully to bypass these processes. Proof in a court requires incorruptible or fearless witnesses ready to step into the witness-box to depose what they know.

The old concept, however, did not take account of the fact that criminals would be resourceful enough to see that all traces of conspiratorial activities are eliminated; that witnesses could be frightened into forswearing their knowledge; that legal proof could be avoided even where the criminal or subversive activity endangering stability is known to exist.

Arch-conspirators in fact do remain at a safe distance and engineer and trigger highly explosive situations. Anti-social elements working to overthrow governments or to disrupt social order masquerade as champions of freedom or friends of the people.

Such dangerous activities cannot be successfully dealt with through the ordinary processes.

The sparks must be extinguished before the hay-stack catches fire.

If society has to be maintained in a well-ordered manner, if the normal course of life is to flow unimpeded, subversion—potential or actual—must be met for the time being by removing from circulation those persons who engineer it.

However, even our detention laws as enforced in normal times have not obviated safeguards altogether. They envisage a quasi-judicial process of scrutiny. The courts, under Habeas

Corpus proceedings, often scrutinise the legality of an order. Many a detention order has been subjected to legal scrutiny as exhaustive as in any criminal appeal.

I owe an apology for disgressing into this aspect of detention laws which form part of the ordinary statute law of the country. But our detention laws, as they are, are not adequate to meet a situation in an emergency.

In times of emergency like the one which we are passing through, it is essential that a person suspected of espionage, sabotage or of aiding the enemy, should be removed from the field of his activity. Their numbers today in India are not small. We are pathologically an unsecretive people, and if in every case an elaborate process has to be put in operation to justify the detention of a suspected traitor, his mission would have succeeded long before the proceedings end in the Supreme Court.

In an emergency, which, I repeat, implies emergency action, the government of the day should be *prima facie* trusted to act *bona fides* in the discharge of its responsibilities.

It is true that the governments may tend to take action on insufficient grounds or with motives not directly connected with meeting the threat. But they are entitled to be trusted to deal with the threat in the best way they can and in the light they possess.

What then is the scope of the civil liberties during an emergency? Under those conditions, it necessarily becomes restricted within the limits which are not capable of precise definition.

Broadly speaking, civil liberties in an emergency would mean the exercise of freedom in all matters which fall outside the restricted sphere of necessary emergent action directed to meet the threat. If governmental action goes beyond this sphere, civil liberties could be said to be violated.

What falls within or without the sphere of necessary emergent action cannot, in the nature of things, be determined by courts of law. The role of the courts of law, under those conditions, has to be played by ever-vigilant criticism in the Parliament, by public men and by the Press.

If civil liberties have to be maintained during an emergency, this freedom of criticism has to be fully exercised in the manner suggested and must not be sneered at; indeed it must be encouraged by the Government.

The criticism may conceivably take the form of insidious hostile propaganda; that has naturally to be prevented. But criticism directed to the laxity or inadequacy of the government or those who govern in meeting the threat can never be hostile and should not be deemed as such. If attempts are made to stifle such criticism, civil liberties are in danger.

Governments are apt not to encourage such criticism; they would prefer to scorn it as inspired by ulterior or party motives. But if attempts are made to smother such criticism which seeks to scrutinise, promote or energise emergent action, they will be suspect.

In an emergency, continuous pressure of public opinion is necessary to be brought on a Government to see that all its actions are solely directed to meet the threat. To thwart or ignore such pressure is to betray the trust.

—Bhavan's Journal, 17th March 1963

CLASSICAL STUDIES

Classical studies came into disrepute a little before World War I in England and America and were progressively substituted by alternative courses in sciences. This was largely due to the triumph of the machine age, which was generally held to be a flowering of human evolution. Science and vocational arts, therefore, naturally gained a disproportionate popularity. Like apes we followed suit and began to neglect the study of classics in our educational system.

—The Creative Art of Life

CO-EXISTENCE

If annihilation is to be ruled out, the only alternative is Co-existence.

*

With India, peaceful co-existence does not imply an avoidance of war risks to an extent when national security might be eroded by threats; but it stands for the elimination of the threats themselves.

*

To secure peaceful co-existence, therefore, there should be pressure of necessity, that is, it must serve the self-interest of nations not to embark on aggressive wars, nor to intervene in the internal structure of other nations. On the other hand, there should be sufficiently powerful international pressure not to let aggressive nationalism run amock so as to endanger the growing interdependence of nations or to raise a new menace to the world.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

COLLEGES

I look upon a college as a living organism. To me it has a soul which creates the atmosphere of purpose, idealism and discipline. It has a collective consciousness. The teachers are the brain cells, there are active and passive cells in the organism, too, there are its energetic and lethargic students.

The atmoshpere of a college is created by the harmony and purpose which inspire its teachers. Rivalries, distrust and partisanship have sometimes marred the harmony of our colleges, as of many similar institutions. The Science Department, having as a rule more students, considers itself a separate unit and its teachers form a kind of trade union pledged to resist the Arts side. The teachers sometimes form groups and try to put each other in the wrong; sometimes they even rush to the Press to criticise their rivals; naturally the atmosphere becomes demoralised.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

COLONIALISM

We need not be impatient. Colonialism is doomed not only in India but in Asia and in Africa.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

COMMERCIALISED VICE

It is beyond controversy that a fairly large number of women engaged in vice have been driven to it by economic pressure; but it would not be correct to accept this as the only cause. There are two more powerful incentives; insufferable lives at home and the operations of the traffickers in women. This traffic has not been dealt with by law in India as it should have been. Larger powers to the Police, under proper safeguards, and the condign punishment of offenders, are necessary for its control.

On the other hand, it must be realised that where social, moral or spiritual factors are powerful, women have faced death by starvation rather than resort to easy virtue. Nor is it true that economic resuscitation can cure society of this vice. There have been times when classes of women who were living in comfort and even in luxury, led a life of wanton disregard of all decency.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

COMMUNISM

In fact communism is negation of all that India stands for—its tolerant traditions, its democratic instincts, its social habits, its religious and spiritual values.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

In substance, Marxists deny the divine essence in man and repudiate the supremacy of the Moral Order. They deny that Truth and Non-violence, for which Gandhiji lived, have any intrinsic validity. They negative faith in God and scoff at the human aspiration which finds fulfilment only in being His instrument. And in so far as they do so, they stand for the insectification of man, for all that is repugnant to Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram—Absolute Truth, Absolute Good, Absolute Beauty—which are the attributes of God. And those who have faith in God can have nothing to do with the dogmas of Communism.

It is idle to be anti-Communist. It leads nowhere. Humanity cannot be saved from this godless propaganda by a mere negative attitude. We must search deeper for the causes wich make our young men and women an easy prey to the insectification to which they lead.

*

The semantic jugglery of the Communistic phrase-mongers has done more than any direct indoctrination. They take your cherished words and change their content till your faith in the value for which the words stand is shaken by the sheer weight of equivocation.

We are pledged to democracy which implies individual freedom. The Communists appropriate the word in the term 'people's democracy' used for the most authoritarian form of government known to history. We condemn 'Autocracy'; they sanctify it by calling it 'democratic centralism.' When another nation crushes a popular revolt in a country, it is 'Ultra-colonial imperialistic wickedness.' When a Communist power sends armies to another land to crush the popular will, it is saving it from 'Capitalistic reactionaryism.' Using words with a double meaning destroys faith in the principle for which the words originally stood; the foundations on which it was built sag; and insectification becomes clothed in the shining garments of a new awakening.

—*The World We Saw*

COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

Communism believes in class war and violence; it negatives the doctrine of personal liberty and the rule of the law. It believes in the regimentation of people under the strict control of the party.

Socialism is based on equality of men, social justice and a welfare state, and is theoretically pledged to nationalisation, though it makes compromises in practice. It can also be consistent with personal liberty, representative government and the rule of law.

—*Replies to the Reader*

CONCEPT OF LAW IN AMERICA

In the American Law Schools, the concept of law is entirely different from ours. With us the law is a profession; teaching it is to impart knowledge of what it is today. In U.S.A., law is a constructive science dealing with human behaviour. As a result, law studies have increased in scope and variety. They take note of the fact that the world is fast becoming one. Human relations in their legal aspect do not comprise only contract, tort, succession or inheritance, but a vast variety of subjects essential for a proper functioning of the modern world. They include international programmes of taxation in their impact on individuals; international investment and trade; daily processes in industry, agriculture, trade and finance; business activities in different countries; military law and defence policy and administration including defence budgets, their methods, content and effect.

—*The World We Saw*

CONGRESS

Even the so-called 'autonomy' in the Congress is a myth. It operates on the lines of the 'democratic centralisation' known to Communist organisations.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

Why does the present leadership, which is led by a national figure like Panditji, fail to build an image of strength ?

Because, instead of developing a national supra-party outlook it equates the regimented support of the Congress Party with the country's spontaneous loyalty. This prevents it from responding to the collective urges of the people.

By the very nature of its build-up, the Congress Party no longer reflects the popular urges. Entrenched in power and patronage, its hierarchs live in a world of their own plans, slogans and power-moves; they rarely develop informal contacts with other groups to enter sympathetically into their genuine reactions. And even if they are inclined to respond to popular urges, they rarely venture to remonstrate with their leadership, for they hold their position on its sufferance.

I do not write this in a spirit of partisanship. From the day the emergency came, I have held the view—and made no secret of it—that in order to match the Chinese military strength on the border, there should only be one party in the country—a party of national resistance.

When the Chinese aggression came and Panditji spoke in the language of Churchill, pledging himself to uncompromising resistance, the faith in the leadership rose high. A spontaneous upsurge of resistance and sacrifice followed. I felt that the moment for calling upon the country to rise above party had come. But, alas, the opportunity was lost—I hope not for ever.

Confident of its majority vote in the Parliament, the leadership often indulges in scornful disregard of public opinion. In consequence, it has developed an infinite capacity for rationalising everything—victory, defeat, moral snobbery. This comes in the way of its projecting an image of strength.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 3rd March 1963*

CONGRESS LIBRARY OF AMERICA

Everything we saw in Washington reminded us of the burning desire of U.S.A. to think in terms of the world, Congress Library being its visible symbol. One of the largest libraries in the world—if not the largest—it is gadgetted so as to bring you any book you want within a few minutes. Its Oriental Section gives a more complete idea of Asia than could be obtained in any other particular place we visited. Piloted by Dr. Manser, we wandered through rows and rows of book-shelves set apart for Indian languages. Ultimately we arrived at the Gujarati section. There were files of dozens of Indian dailies; amongst them I saw the daily numbers of *Janmabhoomi* duly filed and catalogued. And there were leading authors in Gujarati represented by most of their books. Most of my works had a shelf to themselves with only *Tapasvini*, the latest novel, missing!

—*The World We Saw*

CONSCIOUSNESS

Many men deny the spirit and the soul, but none can deny consciousness. If man has not "consciousness" he is nought. When he rises from the lower mind levels, he becomes aware of a centre of consciousness in him which stands apart and beyond the normal working of the mind; a centre capable of first watching, then correcting and guiding his mental processes and later obtaining mastery over his life.

When this centre of consciousness becomes manifest, the spirit begins to seize control of the mind; the instinctive and egoistic reactions become adjusted to a homogeneous pattern of experience.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

CONSECRATED ACT

A consecrated act is an offering of a piece of conduct to God. No conduct can, however, be detached from instincts, thoughts and feelings; if it is, it becomes hypocrisy. The offering has to be honest, without reserve and total; thoughts, words and deeds have to be fused into a compact unity of which action is only an expression.

"Doing" is but an outward mainfestation of "being." Offering our thoughts and feelings by means of action is in truth the offering of the whole of our innate nature.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Our constitution is one of the most outstanding democratic constitutions in the world. It established an integrated judiciary and fundamental rights, and, if the success of a democracy were measured in terms of the way in which the rule of law is maintained, Indian democracy has been very successful. The constitution has been honoured; the fundamental rights have been upheld; the courts have not been slow to assert their independence; and, on the whole, the people have submitted cheerfully to the decisions of the courts.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 11th August 1957*

Under our Constitution, the State is not sovereign because it derives its legal powers from the Constitution. The Supreme Court is not sovereign though it can declare the acts of the legislature and the executive unconstitutional for it also derives its legal powers from the Constitution. The States are not sovereign; the residuary powers are with the Centre; and apart from its implied or resultant powers it has express powers of control including the power of suspending the government of a State or altering its boundaries. Our Constitution has created not a confederation of States, nor even a federation, but a Union of individual citizens with rights and obligations directly related to the State.

The Constitution itself is not sovereign. It is maintained by the support of the people whose representatives can unmake it in the same way as they made it. We have seen in recent times how this Constitution can be amended with ease and promptitude.

*

We have, under the Constitution of our Independent Republic, combined administrative efficiency with democratic freedom, judicial independence and rule of law with economic progress. But, we must never forget that whatever success we have achieved in the sphere of planning, or in the international sphere, has largely been the result of the stability which this country has acquired under our Constitution.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CONTRACEPTIVES

Birth control devices if used to remain absolutely childless or indulge in illicit pleasure would certainly destroy family life and go against the Moral Order and therefore would be sin.

—*Replies to the Reader*

CONTROLS

We cannot advocate controls with scientific thoroughness, as has been done in this and other countries. We have to take into account the power of the State, or the lack of it, to enforce them; the social traditions and the collective reactions of the people: the moral deterioration which an expanding black-market brings in its wake: and the possible conversion of democratic freedom into fearsome regimentation.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CONVOCATION

A convocation is a solemn affair. It is a semi-religious function; it is a function in which farewell is bidden to young men going out into life from our University. Its ceremonials have to be conducted with decorum and grace, and in an atmosphere of inspiration.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

COSMIC RAYS

The study of the basic mechanism involved in realizing the Sun's and cosmic rays may also repay us. I cannot help feeling that if the present rate of increase in the world's population is to be fed, the control of cosmic rays and solar energy will sooner or later have to find results yielding a food crop which would be rich in nutrition and at the same time leave the soil enriched, both in energy and productiveness.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

COTTON

Cotton, as you know, is as vital to us as food. Many would prefer to go hungry rather than naked. Our largest industry depends upon it and so, in part, does our export trade.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

COW

With us Indians the Cow is not merely a useful animal; she is our partner in creating and maintaining our life; a symbol of the unity of our collective organism in which men and animals play an inter-dependent role.

*

Our love for the Cow, however, has degenerated into a sloppy sentimentalism. We neglect her as no other people on earth. The problem of the cow is, therefore, a national problem; her maltreatment is a national crime. In the present context mere 'Goraksha', protection of the cow, has little meaning; 'Gosamvardhana,' the welfare, upgrading and development of the cow family, is the need of the hour.

*

We should go back to the days when every person with the means, ought to keep a cow for himself; when every educated lady should learn how to keep and milk a cow and to look after her as her companion in life.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

CREATIVE EDUCATION

It must be realised that a student is a composite product of his individual talents and aptitudes; his heredity and environment, the association which springs from his relations to his society and his country; the imponderable influences of the soil; the sights, sounds and habits of his native land, and, above all, of the culture into which he is born. These factors may not all be apparent in the student; but nevertheless they constitute his sub-conscious self. Creative education thus takes its stand on the fact that nothing alien to the individual nature of a student can be taught without denying self-fulfilment. The first step, therefore in such an education is to teach the student to study, express and live up to the permanent values of his native culture.

—Convocation Address at the University of Calcutta,
26th March 1948

Creative Education must make our young man really Indian, strong, true and free—an embodiment of the finest in his culture; an authentic representative of India, the teacher of nations, which has a message for humanity.

In order to discover the fundamental of such an education we must begin the search with an entirely fresh outlook. In doing so we must take the stand-point of India; we must evoke the genius of our culture. We may not be partial to ourselves, but in any event we must be true to ourselves. We must get rid of inferiority complex. By the self alone can the self be raised.

In approaching the objects of Bharatiya Shiksha, therefore, we must first consider India. If we want to raise the world, like Archimedes we must have a place to stand on. That place can only be Bharata—the Motherland. In the first place, therefore, the teacher and the student must become 'India-conscious.'

*

Modern education in India, as elsewhere, is growing more and more informative. More attention is paid to the learning of facts rather than the development of the mental faculties. A student going up for Matriculation is, for instance, taught scraps of scientific knowledge, disconnected items of history, a little literature and elementary mathematics. He is expected to cram up bits of information within a given time and, when required, throw the required bits out at the examination. Our Universities protest against cramming and encourage it at the same time.

Creative education takes a contrary view. The value of education lies in cultivating all the faculties of the student and making him fit for the eventualities and relations of life. Unfortunately the universities lay down the content of our education. We cannot change it by voluntary effort. We can only change its method, spirit and goal.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

CREATIVE POWER

Creative power will never be developed, or retained, if we accept ready-made beliefs. In most cases, our beliefs are given to us by the members of our family, by our friends, by priests or politicians, by newspaper articles or cheap slogans.

When the mind rests in such ready-made beliefs, it stops dead.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

CRITICISM OF COURTS

To criticise the Courts in the legislature—apart from expressing a difference of opinion on the merits of a question—is a self-contradiction. Such criticism, when made in a law-making forum, is calculated to promote disrespect for our fundamental law. For the 'rule of law,' in the ultimate analysis, depends upon the well-recognised moral obligation of law-abiding citizens to respect the laws and the decisions of the courts; and if faithlessness begins at the Kaaba—as a Persian proverb has it—who are the faithful?

It is the duty of legislature, therefore, to recognise the decision of the Courts as the Supreme Law of the land so long as it remains in force. It can be changed by a decision of a higher court or by an amending law. But to treat the Courts as if they were erring politicians from the opposite camp is to deny the validity of the constitution and the ultimate authority of the people who have made it. And that is what those who want to subvert the Constitution or shape it to their own unwholesome taste want.

—*The World We Saw*

CULTURE

Culture is certainly not the material equipment of life,—neither the aeroplane we travel in, nor the radio to which we listen, nor the atom bomb which threatens our existence; they constitute civilization. Sri Ramachandra and Sita, Vyasa and Yudhishthira, Sri Krishna, Buddha and Christ wore bark, travelled on foot, and used crude weapons; they were less civilised than ourselves; but he would be a bold man who would say that we are more cultured.

"Culture", in the wider sense, must appertain to well-defined people; it is their characteristic way of life; it is what makes them distinctive. On the other hand, the way in which all people live is not culture. To be a culture, the way of life of a people must have persisted in time; it must have flowed in time as a living stream, as an unbroken organic phenomenon, shaping their social institutions, and giving purpose and direction to their intellectual and aesthetic outlook.

*

The whole aim of culture is therefore to make life, art and literature not merely the record of passing passions or tickling sensations, lifeless traditions or base motives, but to make it an instrument for reaching out to self-realization, i.e. to an experience which gives to each one of us the joy of self-fulfilment in which one can say, "I am more of myself than I was." It is the self-same process in each case; the only limitation is the quality of the medium and the extent of its power.

—*Presidential Address at the All-India Cultural Congress, Delhi, 18th March 1951*

If there is one word which has been widely misused during the last fifteen years it is the word 'culture'. Dance and music are 'culture;' jazz and rock-'n-role are 'culture.' In cities like Delhi and Bombay, cultural shows are performed everyday, none of which has any element of culture; often, they are characterised by want of it. I found the other day that 'culture' tooth-picks were sold in the market! There are also cultural exchanges between nations, the object of which is to deprive us of our culture and to spy upon our country.

*

For a people to have a vital culture, it is necessary that they should have a vivid memory of having achieved common triumphs in the past. Whether the triumphs are mythological, historical or imaginary makes little difference, but they must be closely woven into the collective consciousness of the people.

Geographical co-existence of two communities within well-marked physical boundaries may foster the development of common culture, but by itself it is not an indication of the existence of a common culturs. If Hindus and Muslims in India cannot look back to the memory of common triumphs and if one looks back with pride to Shivaji and Rana Pratap and the other to Mohammad Gazni and Aurangzeb, no common culture can exist between the two.

*

The most important characteristic of a vital culture is a common outlook among the people which, when faced with difficulty, resistance or adversity, can generate a collective will to action. In other words, the vitality of culture can be measured by the capacity of the dominant minority, and following it, the majority of a people, to offer collective resistance in a characteristic way. However, they cannot do so when the collective will to resist adverse circumstances is weak; then the culture becomes decadent and the people begin to disintegrate.

*

The vitality of a culture lasts only so long as the best men in the dominant minority of each generation find self-fulfilment by living up to its fundamental values afresh. These values cannot be handed down from father to son as if it were a legacy. Every generation must recapture it afresh by trying to live up to it.

The values of a culture are recaptured for each generation by a subtle process of re-interpretation, re-integration and adaptation. When the culture is living, the promising young men and women of the generation receive the impact of its fundamental values. The sensitive and the vigorous among them become each a human laboratory, which purifies the fundamental values relating them afresh to the Central Idea; stimulates them to meet the needs of the times; re-integrates the subsidiary values with the fresh vigour of the new interpretation and shapes the traditional institutions not only without impairing the strength of the collective will, but by giving it a new edge.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

The word 'culture' is used in a very loose sort of way. A gentle voice, polite behaviour, a temper under control and a familiarity with the classics are considered marks of culture. But they constitute the veneer of culture, not the genuine article. Of late we have degraded whatever significance the word 'culture' possessed by labelling dancing, music and drama as 'cultural shows', most of them having little vestige of culture. There are even 'culture tooth-picks!'

We can never appreciate what culture signifies unless, to begin with, we realise that culture is not civilisation. Civilisation is only the material equipment of life. Culture is a way of one's life dominated by certain values, which brings to his expression, behaviour and personality, a characteristic harmony.

To repeat my favourite illustration : Sri Ramachandra and Sita wore bark clothes and travelled in canoes. We dress in fine-spun silk and fly in jet planes and may be we are more civilised than they. But he would be a bold man who would say that he is a better son, a more loving husband, a more noble friend or man of higher culture than Sri Ramachandra. In spite of the lapse of centuries, the best amongst us have not caught up with him.

The human race in these days is certainly more civilised than in the days of old. We could destroy cities like Hiroshima with their millions of innocent men, women, and children in a few minutes. Our less civilised forbears in India, even in wars, had some grain of culture; while waging wars, they hesitated to destroy towns or kill women, children or a learned man, or demolish shrines or harm cattle. Knowledge without humility, smartness without sincerity, flaunting of expensive habits, or a taste for wasteful game of bridge, golf and waltz which are fashionable these days may be anything, but certainly not culture. Are we more cultured because our civilisation provides raucous music, vulgar strip-tease entertainments, easy divorces and increasing crimes and greater opportunities to indulge in smut and sensation?

Culture in a man depends upon his ability to invest human relationships with values which are absolute, that is, those which are valid *per se,* not those which serve as means to an end. When that is done, there is the resulting harmony which we call culture.

What I have referred to as absolute values, in their subsidiary aspects, assume the form of devotion, loyalty, kindliness, service, integrity, reverence, love of art and philosophy. Primarily they all arise from the basic values of Love, Beauty and Truth. But even these absolute values—Love, Beauty and Truth—are aspects of the same central value. Truth is beautiful; Beauty is not beautiful if it does not reflect the heart of truth; and Love is truth and beauty *par excellence.* This central value Plato calls Absolute Beauty.

The first step to appreciate and acquire culture is to be culture-conscious. This consciousness comes by developing a harmonious outlook on the different activities of life under the influence of one or more absolute values.

When this culture-consciousness leads us to make attempts to express such values through the medium of words, behaviour or personality, life begins to develop a characteristic rhythm.

Beauty expressed through the medium of words is true literature; when the medium is sound, colour, or stone, art is born.

All the three, therefore, can be called "Culture", truly so called.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th June 1963

CULTURE CRISIS

Our culture, however, is facing a new crisis. India, like other modern countries, is passing through a phase of urbanised and industrial civilization in which a dangerous measure of regimentation of life has become inevitable. During the last fifty years the United States has risen to world influence; Russia under Soviet Communism has developed a power, sinister in its capacity to create chaos; Western Europe including England has declined as a world influence; Asia, Africa and Latin America are moving towards political self-determination and independence. The struggle for existence becomes acute. Traditional influences are being looked down upon and resisted. Science marches on, as it should; but religion and classics, the great steadying factors in human life, are neglected. Naturally, new and explosive ideas are rampant all over the world, and it would be suicidal to ignore them. The old life is threatened by the new freedom which each man claims; by the emergence of woman as an independent member of society; by the possible turmoil into which a democracy based on adult franchise may throw us; and by totalitarianism which threatens all free life with soulless regimentation. All these factors have been casting the world including India into a different mould. We, particularly those of us who are working in the Universities, the crucibles of culture, have to take up this callenge and meet the culture crisis facing us.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,
20th November 1949

CYCLE OF LIFE

Agricultural production has little in common with factory production. Production in agriculture is an organic process. It depends on rain and sunshine, personal skill and labour, laws of heredity and national tradition, economic movements and scientific methods; it has ultimately to rely on the collective will to produce and the vitality organism of life which lives, moves and has its being within the physical determinants—soil, rivers, mountains and climatic conditions—of a given country. This organism of life consisting of vegetation, animals and men is one and indivisible. It is a single cycle of life. If the cycle is broken the organism is crippled; its life begins to disintegrate. Erosion starts; forests disappear; watercourses are silted up; soil loses its fertility; and man's feverish efforts to patch things up end in disaster. The desert slowly spreads its deadening finger over the land where lusty life once flourished.

—Speech at the First Indian Co-operative Conference, Bombay,
25th February 1952

DANCE-DRAMA

Unlike fastidious critics, I do not hold the mixing of techniques in the same horror as do connoisseurs the mixing of drinks. A happy mixture in a dance-drama continuing for over two hours relieves the tedium of the repetitive and stylised gestures of a solitary dance technique.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

DANCING

Dancing is the expression of the freedom and joy of the Soul. If sexiness is excluded, dancing is not only moral but ennobling.

Indian dancing is free from sexiness. Mixed western dancing and recently introduced Latin forms of dancing—rumba and rock-'n-roll—are both sexy and ugly. I have never been able to see in Indian dancing these artless modes without a sense of shame at our national degradation.

—*Replies to the Reader*

DANDI MARCH

Gandhiji had decided to undertake a march to Dandi at the head of a carefully selected volunteer corps, with a view to break the salt laws at the end of the journey. He set out on the historic march on the 13th March.

When the day appointed for the march to Dandi arrived a new spirit had come over India. Those in authority thought that Gandhiji was making himself ridiculous. The liberals treated the whole thing as a joke. The people, however, were stirred to their depths, and when he left Sabarmati Ashram on the 13th March 1930, for Dandi, the hopes of millions were centred in him. A spectacle unknown to history was unrolled before man's eyes—a frail man leading 79 followers on foot to a distant seaside place to break the salt law in order that 'Swaraj' might be won! To the cold politician, it naturally appeared a fool's errand; to the man who knew the making of nations, it was the moment of a nation's birth. For many years Gandhiji had been the most powerful man in the country, the man with the largest following and greatest influence, but on that day he became entitled, and rightly, to say, "The Nation! I am the Nation!"

—I follow the Mahatma

DAYANANDA SARASWATI, SWAMI

Of the modern Masters, Swami Dayananda Saraswati is the first in time.

He had no attachment, no personal life, no fear. He braved poison and snakes and the knife of the assassin. He faced abuse, calumny and violence with undaunted courage and a spotless life; and the concentrated vigour of a complete consecration to his mission. He had no malice, but his flaming indignation was like scorching lava, which burst up untruth and things which stifled the soul of India.

The Swami's wonderful gifts were brought under the direction of one idea, to restore the primitive Aryan strength and virility to Indian Culture. He was learned beyond the measure of man. He was a master of thundering eloquence. Ceaselessly he worked, travelling all over India, radiating intense creative vigour; a powerful human dynamo, physically, mentally and spiritually. He was the first among moderns who lived and taught others to live up to the permanent values of our Culture. He gave us the first programme of Cultural re-integration, most of which has now been associated with Nationalism; removal of caste distinction and untouchability; equality of women; highest scientific education grafted on an education essentially Indian; the use of a national language and the pursuit of Sanskrit as a predominant national influence; repudiation of Westernism; re-organisation of life on a basis of freedom as in Vedic times and a sturdy resistance against foreign rule and alien culture.

—The Creative Art of Life

DEDICATED LIFE

Normally, we take a dedicated life to mean a life spent for a cause, a mission, or an ideal. But a little scrutiny will show that this meaning has little substance. In those who have lived such a life, we find, only too often, conceit, selfishness, ambition, or egoism.

I, for instance, may imagine that I am devoting myself to literature because I have dedicated my life to Beauty; but, in fact, I may be writing for nothing but fame or money. Again, I may believe that in devoting myself to public life I have dedicated my life to the Country; but more often than not such a belief is a cloak for personal ambition, love of power or an itch to "do"—that aimless urge to be up and doing something or the other which makes modern men and women run breathlessly into lifelong frustration.

It is, therefore, difficult to call a life devoted to a cause, a mission, or an ideal, a "dedicated life". In dedication, all one's thoughts, feelings and ambitions, have to be offered to something which is not self; to something which is an end in itself; something absolute.

*

Isolated acts offered as sacrifices may be excellent as training but they do not make for a dedicated life. We have to remember that what has to be offered is not the act itself, but the whole of our innate nature through the act. When a worshipper offers flowers at a shrine, the offering is merely a symbol of his complete surrender to the deity. Sacrifice necessarily involves surrender.

It is impossible to isolate each act and to consecrate it, for it cannot be disentangled from urges, purposes, and motives, many of which have come forth from the caverns of the lower mind, or from the glamorous heights of egoism.

Thoughts, feelings, actions, life itself, are the projections of the innate nature in 'time', for it is 'time' which provides the medium through which the innate nature operates. Unless, therefore, we learn to consecrate life as represented by every moment ot it, total dedication is not possible.

—City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters

DEFICIT FINANCING

What really matters in deficit financing is that the implementation of the development programme should not raise prices unduly or transfer incomes in a manner that would cause serious hardships to the less well-to-do sections of the community.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

DELHI—OLD AND NEW

Delhi, old and new combined, is a city without a soul. It has no cultural, intellectual or social life of its own, independent of the Government.

New Delhi is the President's Camp-cum-diplomatic colony. When I first visited New Delhi in the days of Linlithgow, the first thing which struck me was the large number of chaprassis running hither and thither; so I styled it the 'Chaprassi town'. Old Delhi, though an ancient town, has no vocal and organized life. The Supreme Court, without a powerful local Bar, has not created the free atmosphere of a lawyer's town. The University of Delhi is far away; even if it were near, it leans too heavily on the Ministry of Education, and has no independent academic atmosphere of its own, as in Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras or even, for that matter, in Lucknow and Allahabad. Some of the leading Punjabi refugees who had built up Lahore in the pre-Partition days, have not yet been sufficiently rooted in the soil to give Delhi the tone they gave to the city of their first love.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

DEMOCRACY

A live democracy that we want to see functioning in the country, demands that not only the goal, but the machinery through which it has to be reached, should be adequate; that it is smooth-running, efficient and honest. It should not creak and it should not be clogged. Our anxiety to reach the goal in a hurry is no excuse why the means by which we hope to reach it should be left inadequate or imperfect. The voter has adversely reacted to the administrative machinery. It has not earned his confidence; it has not helped him to develop initiative; it has not been above suspicion; and if more and more powers are given to such a machinery, we will raise a Frankenstein that will ultimately put democracy in jeopardy.

*

If a politician is denied the opportunity to think for himself, to express his views freely and frankly in his party meetings or if he stands in fear of having to pay the price should he criticise the measures and policies of Government even in a domestic forum, you introduce a 'Centralism' which will destroy democracy in the end.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 11th August 1957*

DENTISTS

Dentists are responsible for the health of a very important part of our body mechanics. Only those who have reached, or are approaching, the age of "second childhood", can appreciate what value to put on a properly qualified dentist. He can, if he so chooses, not only restore the facial features, but make them more attractive, provide a better set of teeth and improve and preserve your health.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

DESTINY OF MAN

The divine element in man is the Fundamental Aspiration which yearns for Light, Love, Beauty, Bliss, Joy, Freedom and Calm. Because of this, he is not an atom moved by physio-chemical laws; not merely a unit of life, like an amoeba; not a bundle of instinctive reactions, like an animal; not even a thinking machine as he believes himself to be. Because of it, he is a spark of divinity whose destiny lies towards God.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

The destiny of man cannot be allowed to be frustrated by an exclusive emphasis on scientific knowledge and skill and a neglect of the permanent values of culture.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

DEVANAGARI SCRIPT

The Devanagari script, as it is, is simple, beautiful and precise. Only the needs of printing, typewriting and other mechanical methods of communication require that its drawbacks should be removed or minimised without affecting its distinctive quality.

This reform, to be generally acceptable, should, in my opinion, conform to certain conditions. It should be on an all-India basis; otherwise, there is a possibility of experts in different States making regional changes—as they are trying to do at present—which would ultimately destroy its generally acceptable character.

Devanagari, apart from being the script of Hindi, the official language of India and its national language by general acceptance, is also the generally accepted script of Sanskrit, with which most educated men in India are familiar. This is a factor of major importance, not to be ignored in considering the reforms.

*

On the other hand, even today, those who know Sanskrit are familiar with the Devanagari script so that the "Nagarikaran" of Bengali and Gujarati scripts would be a first great step towards unification and would at the same time open out a much wider public to the literary and journalistic productions of North India. It is difficult for a Gujarati to understand spoken Bengali, on account of the difference of pronunciation; but it is not so difficult for a Gujarati to read a Bengali book in Devanagari. A beginning has, therefore, to be made and the time has arrived for it.

*

The adoption of a uniform script in India can, therefore, be considered by the conference, if not as an immediate, as a necessary next step in the process of unification. The growing movement in the country to learn Hindi in the Devanagari script is gathering strength. A simultaneous movement can, therefore, be sponsored by Governments by a common effort to publish a series of important works in each regional language in the Devanagari script and to encourage journals to publish regional literature in the Devanagari script.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

If we had one script in the provinces in which Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati are spoken, the residents of all these provinces would be able to read works easily in all the four languages. In other provinces, people who could read the national language would also be able to understand these works. This script can only be Devanagari.

The difference of opinion on this subject between the Hindus and Muslims had to be taken note of. It was no use hoping that the Muslims would abandon the Urdu script and accept ours. The Hindus themselves even had not got one script between them. How then was it possible to teach Devanagari and Urdu to all educated persons? The only practical solution of the problem was that Devanagari should be accepted by those who could do so easily. Then the only question left would be whether the compromise between Devanagari and Urdu should be effected by a use of two optional scripts or by the adoption of a common Roman script. Even today the Gujaratis write Devanagari without the top strokes. The little change which some five or six letters had undergone in the Gujarati alphabet could easily be removed. Many Hindi and Marathi-speaking persons use the alphabet without the top strokes and if such a change was accepted by different provinces, a great advance could be achieved.

—*I follow the Mahatma*

DEVOTION TO DUTY

Devotion to duty means, as a first step, trying to be perfect in whatever little act one has to perform in the ordinary course of life. In the second stage, it comes to discovering the duty which our innate temperament prescribes and doing it. Lastly, it means an unwavering determination to perform the duty even at the cost of life, as an offering to God.

—*Replies to the Reader*

DHARMA

Dharma, synonym of *Rita* in its primary sense, was the Cosmic Order which upheld the whole creation. Being one and indivisible, it operated upon all planes, material, social, moral and spiritual, and every thing that was created evolved according to its laws.

In its secondary sense Dharma meant the pursuit of the Highest Good by a man trying to live in conformity with the Cosmic Order.

Dharma took its stand on the fact that man was neither the creature nor the victim of forces either physical or supra-physical. He was certainly not the creature of environments, as held by some modern social philosophers. He was the meeting point of hereditary and environmental forces as well as of moral and spiritual forces operating through a series of lives.

By pursuing Dharma, therefore, he could operate the forces of the Cosmic Order, and by so doing, outgrow his limitations as well as alter the course of his present and future lives, as also change the shape of his social and material environments.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

In its changeless essentials, Dharma is the Law, the Word, the Mother. All conduct is to be regulated by one unchanging law based on the absolute ethical values of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-waste and non-possession; and all conduct is to be inspired by a faith in human endeavour as self-discipline, leading man out of his limitations to become The Supreme in this life.

—*Address delivered at the Vikramaditya Bi-millennial Celebration, Kanpur, 9th December 1943*

DISCIPLINE

Issues are being so confused by the political atmosphere of the day that discipline is often supposed to be synonymous with tyranny or harshness. In fact, discipline is another name for order and harmony, for self-control and character : that is, for happiness, well-being and a sense of responsibility.

*

We are often told that our young men lack discipline because they are frustrated, and the frustration will continue till all economic causes are eradicated—to the satisfaction of all economists! The logic is that indiscipline must continue unless all the economic disorders are relieved. Few seem to consider that the economic causes will never be removed so long as young men remain frustrated. The argument is absurd.

Self-restrained behaviour is the outcome of moral and spiritual training. If it can be maintained only amidst economic plenty—and not otherwise—it is anything but discipline. And by that logic, virtue should be maintained only when there is no possibility of falling from it; if the temptations remain, loss of virtue must be accepted as inevitable.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

DISINTEGRATION

Disintegration is a slow and imperceptible process, which never provides spectacular landmarks like defeat and victory in war. But once begun, its process becomes far more significant and fatal.

Our paramount duty in India, therefore, is to resist disintegration by strengthening the forces of integration.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

DOCTORS

A doctor is not merely a healer; he is the guide, philosopher and friend of the family. His personality and his power to create faith is often more important than the drug that he prescribes. It is unfortunate that on account of advance in science medical men sometimes fail to realise the importance of the psychological effect of their personality.

If a doctor is to fulfil his role, he must learn the art of spreading sunshine—cheer and hope—by his very presence and speech in every sick room that he enters.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

The world may rush at a frantic speed in aeroplanes, but medical men cannot sacrifice confidence to speed, for the art of healing is the art of creating in the patient the confidence that he is being cared for, the hope that he is going to be cured, and the will to live.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

DOMESTIC LIFE IN AMERICA

In America, domestic work has to be done by the wife, often helped by the husband. Except in families with very large means, domestic help such as we have in India is simply unthinkable. That is why we find the wives of officers of standing in our missions, who are attracted by the glamour of living in a foreign country, soon find out how lovely India is.

A maid, we are told, would not ordinarily come in for more than four hours and has to be paid at least five dollars per day.

She would have to be provided with lunch cooked by the mistress of the house and the lunch would have to be to her taste. Sometimes she might even bring a friend who must also be provided with food, if you want to keep her goodwill.

*

Husband-wife relation in U.S.A. fall into the familiar categories; first, the wise husband and the affectionate wife who looks upon him with respect; secondly the husband and wife both well contented partners who have come to a tacit understanding and blended their life with harmony, neither being aggressive or domineering; third, the guilty aggressive husband and the wife who without being aggressive rules the husband whom she has once adored and now loves to mother; fourth, the dominant protective husband and the adoring wife who has scarcely shed her honeymoon fascination. These are eternal categories in a well-ordered society all the world over.

—*The World We Saw*

DOWRY

Dowry is the price of a bride or a bridegroom paid by parents of the other party. In some communities, it is difficult to get a good bride, and one has to pay the price in the form of dowry; in some communities, a good bridegroom is difficult to obtain, and the father of the bride has to pay it. The father of the girl pays the price because he thinks that his daughter's prospects would be improved by the marriage. And the father of the bridegroom pays the price because he thinks that he secures a very fine wife for his son.

The system has been so much abused that there are no advantages from the social or moral points of view. It is an evil; it may be that individuals might be benefited temporarily. But it degrades a sacred union into a purchase.

If the payment is voluntary, then it is a present, not a dowry. The system can only be rooted out when selection of brides and bridegrooms, by parents, in narrow communities, is replaced by a free choice of a wife or husband by the other party, without any bargaining by the parents.

—*Replies to the Reader*

DRAVIDIANS

The Early Dravidians, who arrived in India prior to 2000 B.C., possessed a highly developed material culture, as would appear from their early speech-forms and the findings in Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Lothal. They had forts, public baths, shipping activities, international commerce, a special feature inherited by the later Dravidians of the historical period. We also know many things of their habits, their dress, their burials and their Gods.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

DUTY

If we perform the duty of the moment, whatever happens, nothing will harm us. Let us not forget the glory of our past; let us discharge our duty in the present; let us decide to steer our way fearlessly in the future.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

ECLIPSE

The Hindu practice of fasting, bathing and performing religious ceremonies during an eclipse began at the time when people believed that during an eclipse, the demons, Rahu and Ketu, swallowed the Sun and the Moon, whom they worshipped—and many worship still—as gods. We now know that eclipse is a natural phenomenon. Such pactices, which had their origin in ignorance, require to be altered in the light of present-day scientific knowledge. We should therefore enlighten our people. But if members of a family still hold the old belief, I would not offend their susceptibilities by condemning them.

—Replies to the Reader

ECONOMIC BLOCKS

If aid and trade continues to be the instruments of power politics as now, they will continue to divide the world into two economic blocks running a race in 'Competitive Co-existence'. Every under-developed nation will try to become auto-archic by exploiting the rivalry between the power blocks. The world conflict, while changed in shape, would be accentuated.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The social conditions under which economic development took place in Europe and elsewhere in the nineteenth century cannot be tolerated in the mid-twentieth century, and more particularly, in a democracy like ours based on adult franchise and fundamental rights of equality and economic justice. Any development which involves undue hardship on some sections compared to others has, therefore, to be ruled out. A greater equality than exists at present has to be brought about before the poorer sections of the community could cheerfully exert the will to work that is needed for rapid development.

*

If I am correct in my conclusions, we will have to reject under-development economics as understood in the West. We hav also to gear our economic thinking to the solid results of the Indian experiment. It would be dangerous indeed, in these conditions, to think in terms of 'isms' : they are no more than 'thought-saving' devices, the first cousin to 'labour-saving' devices. I am sure that you economists, who generally favour 'labour-saving' devices, will agree with me that we should be the first to reject them.

I attach little importance to theoretical discussions of control versus decontrol, public versus private sector. In a non-Euclidean world we connot be 'Euclidean Geometers'. Our economic thinking, therefore, must be built in the light of our own experience and in the direction which our national traditions and aspirations indicate.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

ECONOMISTS

India is free. Our problems are manifold. The need to relate our economic thinking to the solution of concrete problems is great. And the responsibility of the economists is all the greater, for by their studies and research they have to help in promoting day-to-day development. The responsibility is such that if it is not duly discharged, national progress will be hindered.

This responsibility is all the more onerous because solutions have to be found in the context of a welfare state. In the past, economists were content with studying only man's material environments: the way in which production was organised and goods produced; the way in which incomes were earned and spent; the effects of taxes collected and disbursed. Any such restricted approach at the present time cannot lead us anywhere.

*

To many intelligent people in these days an economist is the last court of appeal. Before him, the man of art, the social worker, the pragmatic administrator, the moral enthusiast, the man of vision and the seeker of the spirit are sometimes considered as myopic blunderers who will not accept the universal importance of studying and manipulating the monetary expressions of the individual or the society.

*

The role of economists both in Government and the Universities is being increasingly appreciated. The problems of our times are challenging. The issues at stake are large. Vigorous thinking and healthy realism are called for at the present time.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

EDUCATED MEN AND AGRICULTURE

Our town-bred educated men, our most effective agencies for national uplift, make good officers, good lawyers, even good scientists. Their attitude towards agriculture, however, is that of an ignorant snob. Their knowledge is restricted to the food they eat and the milk they drink. They think that the handling of soil or the planting of trees, or the mixing of compost is dirty work, beneath their diginity. The very atmosphere in which the educated live, their vigour, skill and inspiration, which should permeate the other sections of the people and thus ensure rapid progress, are, unfortunately for the moment, devoid of the life-giving touch and smell of the soil. Agriculture is, in consequence, denied the service of the best brains of the country.

—*Speech delivered at the Council of Agricultural Education,*
New Delhi, on 3rd November 1951

EDUCATION

Education, as a creative art, must evoke the best in the student. It must develop all his faculties and set him on the path where he can master the art of self-sculpture. It, therefore, requires that the student should adopt the three essential attitudes of studenthood, reverence, the spirit of enquiry and the spirit of service.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

ELECTIONS

Free, fair and impartial elections are the pre-condition of a successful democracy.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

ENGLISH EDUCATION

At the start, the object of the Britisher in introducing English education in some parts of the country was to spread Christian religion.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

English is already rich and powerful. It is perhaps the richest and the most powerful language in the world today. And all Indian languages have yet to continue the process of the last one hundred years, to evolve a more powerful Indian medium which can serve in the same way as English. Let us not hesitate to confess that it is the language today ot all-India scholarship, as well as of law and the higher grades in administrative and international intercourse.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

English no doubt is the predominantly international language; through its medium we can contact the rest of the world. But this is an incidental advantage. In fact, an intensive study of English has denied to our souls the sap which they would have otherwise drawn from the soil of Indian Culture through the use of our own languages.

—The Creative Art of Life

ENGLISH LITERATURE

English literature today is no longer the pride of the Englishman alone. It is as much an Indian's, American's or Canadian's as an Englishman's. Most educated Indians have for the last three quarters of a century thrilled to the rich beauty of English poetry; lived in the wonderland created by English dramatists from the mighty Shakespeare to the irrepressible Shaw; moved in English life with the aid of the novelists from Fielding to Hardy; built their outlook with the help of English thinkers from Bacon to Russell; and have absorbed the political and legal tradition of the great English politicians and judges. English periodicals too, have had a formative influence on us. *The Nineteenth Century, Contemporary Review, The Times, The Manchester Guardian,* *The New Statesman* and *Nation* have shaped our views on life and politics. The *Magna Carta,* transplanted to America in the eighteenth century and brought into Indian Law in its modern form by British and Indian judges and legislators, forms an integral part of our Constitution.

English literature has been great. In profundity and moral stature it has not yet touched Indian literature; nor in beauty the Greek; nor, again, in clarity and incisiveness the French; but all aspects taken together, it is richer by far than any other in the world. But more than this it has been, since the printing press, the most potent influence in unifying and uplifting the world. I know a little of the growth of our modern literature in India; and I am free to confess, in spite of my intense nationalism, that, but for the tremendous influence of English literature, our languages would not have gained their present-day vigour and expressiveness; our prose would have been stilted as before; our poetry would have continued to be cast in outmoded and mediaeval grooves; and drama would simply not have been. It is difficult to say what shape the novels of Bankim, the father of modern Indian fiction, would have taken without Scott and Lytton; what flavour the exquisite touch of Tagore's poetry would have given without Shelley and Keats. In fact the modern literary renaissance in India has been the product of the impact of English literature on Indian literature with its Sanskritic traditions.

—Speech delivered at the Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition of English Books and Periodicals, New Delhi, 12th October 1950

ENJOYMENT

Enjoyment with attachment is really a search for pleasure, that is, satisfaction of the senses. It brings satiety, disgust, frustration and misery. When you remove attachment, wrath and fear from your actions and are not lured by the enjoyment of the senses or, to use the words of the *Gita*, when you develop *anaasakti*, the action becomes perfect. Then the joy of doing the perfect act becomes yours. It stimulates fundamental aspirations for love, power, joy, peace, light and freedom. Then you find the unfading *aanand* of having fulfilled yourself.

—Replies to the Reader

ENTHUSIASM

If there is one gospel which I have tried to live up to, it is enthusiasm maintained at a white-heat at all costs.

—*Food and People—Speech in Parliament*

ETHICO-SPIRITUAL ORDER, BASES OF

We are passing through a crisis in character; to deny it is to be blind to facts. It has arisen because the vocal and self-styled progressive minority in our country has been slowly losing regard for the Moral Order—the ethico-spiritual Order which upholds and overarches all life and for which Dharma is the more significant equivalent. As a result, the individual sense of responsibility for one's own actions is being undermined.

In the past this responsibility was upheld by various factors :

First, by the binding force of custom which reflected the notions of right conduct in a society.

Secondly, by religion, which by ritualism, belief and faith upheld the sanctity of the Order.

Thirdly, by education imparted or inspired by men of righteousness who, in spite of their poverty, were held in high respect.

Fourthly, by maintaining respect for certain human values which were induced by moral and religious literature and upheld by saints and seers and men of noble conduct. These values accepted goodness, truth, non-violence and compassion, as self-evident truths, to which action, to be right, had to conform.

These factors built up character not only of the individual, but of groups. There were, no doubt, lapses in plenty, but they were something to be ashamed of, not flaunted. And most of those who were weak to conform to the Moral Order never doubted its validity and thus helped to establish a generally accepted sense of moral responsibility.

Thus, as I said, the causes of the crisis lie in increasing disregard of the Moral Order leading to a crumbling respect for truth, sanctity of life, self-restraint and greedlessness. If this process continues, we will lose our freedom, and what is more, our cultural moorings, and will ultimately disintegrate.

If remedial measures are not speedily taken, suffering will multiply and happiness become a myth. Remedies, however, cannot be applied piecemeal by a movement here or a movement there. Moral Order must, through education, public activities and individual conduct, be restored to its primacy in our attitude towards life. This implies its total transformation.

In the field of thought, rationalism should be regarded only as a purifying process, not a destroying instrument. Science should be treated as a neutral discipline, never an excuse for subordinating moral and spiritual values to a barren scepticism.

In the field of religion, ritualism and forms should not be an end in themselves but a gateway to acquiring a faith in the Moral Order, which should be creative, that is, a force which impels men to live up to its values.

In ethics, the emphasis on the success motive in individual and group life is the greatest stumbling-block. In the individual life, its training begins from the infant class and ends at the death-bed when proudly one looks forward to the prospect of a glamorous funeral. This should be replaced by a habit that counts the value of life only to the extent of what one does for others. This can only be achieved by changing the system of education and social opinion in the community.

In business and industry, the primacy of profit motive should be subordinated to the primacy of a moral responsibility to the consumer. In life, greed of possession should be replaced by an urge to excel in individual productiveness.

In politics, competent and morally responsible rulers should help the people to develop on the lines of their native genius. Such men should replace the power-mad leaders of today who want to impose their nostrums with the aid of power and patronage of the State, as also the members of the "New Class", as described by Milovan Djilas, who through State control, want to control and enjoy all the resources of the country.

Individual life should be guided by self-respecting and self-restraining efforts to live a life of responsibility; to look upon marital life as a permanent fusion of two lives and upon the family as a school of love and duty. The sanctity of marriage and of the family bond should be restored to an honoured place in society.

These changes cannot be brought about from above; they could never be induced by men in power forcing external changes by invoking some pseudo-scientific religion, whether called Communism or Socialism or any other 'ism'.

It must be realised that factories and dams, increasing luxuries and conveniences, the struggles and rivalries of individuals and groups, have only a superficial significance in the life of the people. Far more important than these are the movements of culture whose roots lie in the urge to wonder, to worship and to aspire; in the need for self-respect through freedom; in self-fulfilment through love, and in the strength which faith in God gives.

If, therefore, a genuine transformation of the life of the people has to be aimed at, creative enthusiasm for the ethico-spiritual Order—Dharma—must be revitalised. And the movement should begin from the educated, the sensitive and the creative sections of the people.

This creative enthusiasm can only come by acquiring the habit of consecrating every act as an offering to God, Who is the source, the centre and the support of the Moral Order. That is, we must acquire the habit of living and acting in the presence of God.

Only when such creative enthusiasm is restored to world consciousness will this crisis be tided over.

—Bhavan's Journal, 7th February 1960

EUROPEANS

Europeans are different from us. But to say that they are culturally or morally or even socially superior is to be a prey to inferiority complex.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963

EXCAVATIONS

You should know all about digging up the graves of a vanished Civilization. Each age has its distinctive pottery, building materials, seals and weapons. By correlating these finds you can, within a margin of error of a century or so, find the period of each settlement. If the site has been continuously occupied, the finds of an earlier age gradually mingle with those of the later. If, on the other hand, there is a desertion, there is no overlapping of distinctive finds of different periods; there is complete break in the culture.

—Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters

EXISTENCE OF GOD

You cannot prove the existence of God, you can only experience it. As reason is not a sufficiently powerful instrument to know, feel and experience God, it is necessary to develop *prajna* or highly developed intuition for the purpose.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963*

EXPLOITATION OF LAND

I have come to realise that man has soared high, but lost his foot-hold in the soil. He has worshipped Sri Ramachandra, the Divine in man; but has forgotten that even He is inaccessible without Sita Mata, the daughter of the furrowed Earth.

Man has since his first appearance plundered the earth. In modern times, his technological skill and unnatural vanities have broken the cycle of life. We have robbed the earth of the green glory of her forests. We do not conserve the soil we exhaust. We do not care to preserve the water for which we thirst. We do not render to the earth those things which are hers.

—*Speech at the First Indian Co-operative Conference, Bombay, 25th February 1952*

FAITH

In the days when asceticism was associated with super-natural powers, the Spirit was emphasised at the expense of material well-being. It was affirmed : "Man can live without bread, but not without faith."

Later, the social and physical sciences were not considered of absolute value, but emphasis was laid on spiritual development rather apologetically. Then it was affirmed : "Man cannot live by bread alone."

In recent times, the emphasis has been altered. The affirmation is : "Man can live without faith." The process of the insectification of man has grown apace. The only faith which man is asked to have in some quarters is that there should be no faith : "Man ought to live without faith."

But I see a change coming over man. Of this change, Sri Aurobindo was the great prophet, Gandhiji the great architect. Toynbee, our greatest living historian, has recently forecast the change. The affirmation of sanity should run: "Faith without bread has no body; bread without faith has no life. By faith alone can man win bread; with bread alone can his faith prosper; for both are life."

—Convocation Address at the Lucknow University,
27th December 1952

FAITH-CURES

By and large, most ailments follow from a state of mind. Sometimes even an ailment, physical in its origin, has a mental element. The *mantras*, if you have faith in them, mobilise the powers of the subconscious and cure the mental condition and thereby enable the body to recover from the ailment by its own recuperative powers. A large number of faith-cures are real cures and are of this order.

—Replies to the Reader

FAMILY PLANNING

Even our Family Planning activities require to be conducted a little carefully. In the measurable future they are not likely to affect the rate of population growth very appreciably. Out of the daily increase of ten thousand hungry mouths in the country, it would be unreasonable to expect a reduction of even a thousand mouths in ten years. A very active propaganda for Family Planning has had deleterious effects in U.S.A. and elsewhere, as testified by social studies, and is likely to have similar effects here. The sanctity attached to marriage tends to disappear, the family tends to disintegrate; the moral basis of society begins to be undermined. Planning aids, widely advertised, teach people that restraint is no longer necessary; that promiscuity has no dangers; that aids are cheaper than marriage.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

We must not forget that a family with no ability to support children and to give them a proper start in life is a strain on the nation; that unhealthy or diseased parents, copiously adding a helpless element to the population, are a serious handicap to all progress. It would strain the welfare activities of the state almost to a breaking point, exhaust social vitality and disintegrate society.

Apart from these social considerations, however, we have to look to individual considerations as well. A man may want to commit suicide; it is our duty to save him from doing it. A man may foolishly indulge in habits which perpetuate illness or weak health; it is our duty to save him from that catastrophe.

Similarly, a man may, out of a foolish sentiment, project ill-health to his children or a weak and anaemic woman may be forced to undergo the torture of repeated child-births; or a man who is diseased may, in utter disregard of consequences, burden himself and the society with children whom he would not be able to look after and for whom society might have to waste resources which could be better utilised for healthy children.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

FARMER

I have seen farmers of our country from Assam to Cutch, toiling patiently on their little fields. Every time I have seen one, my heart has gone out to him. He needs help—this raw, human material of ours, who has stood the test of time, not by vociferous sympathy from others, but because he is courageous, hard-working and cheerful. In Gujarati, he is called the 'father of the world'—*jagatno tat*. He loves his little patch of land; and that is the bedrock of our nationalism. He is devoted to his wife and children; and that is the foundation of the family life which stabilises our society. He has faith and is therefore fearless. So long as he is brave, cheerful, patient, and bent on ceaseless hard work, India will remain unshaken.

*

The farmer is a difficult person to understand; he is so hard-headed. He may, however, respond to an emotional appeal. For instance, if he is called upon to fight for the battle of freedom, he will do so. *Vanamahotsava* had an appeal, I find, because tree raising had a fundamental value in the mass mind. We cannot, as is done in Russia and China, appeal to our people in the name of a war against capitalist countries. But we can learn the lessons taught by the Father of the Nation; we can make this a non-violent war, if we can create a mass movement in the nature of a Land Army.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

FEAR

Of all the forces which dominate life, Fear is the most powerful, the ugliest, the most subtle.

Under the influence of Fear the mind expects the loss of something which it prizes as an essential, before the loss arises. The loss is also exaggerated, distorted and made to look more devastating than it actually is. The mind also suffers misery for the loss long before it actually arises. It is driven to panicky action to prevent the expected loss.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

We demand security by external adjustments, material comforts and economic safeguards; by collective bargaining, collective coercion, collective security; in fact, by the coercive power of collective fear induced by sedulously fostered propaganda, state action or international military combines. So obsessed are we with fear all over the world that, instead of meeting it squarely, we invite a mighty collective fear to secure for us freedom from fear. We undermine inner strength in the interest of an external strength of a social order in which only materialistic recourses are taken into account. The result is that fear destroys the moral and spiritual foundations of life, which only come from a fearless habit of mind.

We are so possessed by fear that we even fear to rely on ourselves lest another and greater fear may overtake us.

*

We dare not face the truth, much less cultivate the faith or be ready to "die in our Truth" as the *Gita* teaches; we will not live up to the canons of a dedicated life or be God-minded as our torch-bearers aspired to be. Why has this change come over us? Because a mighty fear is upon us. We are afraid of being ourselves, of being proud of ourselves or our Motherland or her role in history. We see only the over-advertised triumphs of the physical and social sciences pointing the way to a new Heaven—freedom from fear by material safeguards.

—Convocation Address at the Allahabad University,
15th December 1951

FEAR OF WAR

Fear of war will disappear when malice, wrath and fear will disappear from the collective life of men. This implies that the educated men, who control the destinies of mankind, should come to feel that God is in All, and All is in God. But the way that we go about emphasising material wants and maintain an unhappy balance of selfish interests is not likely to eliminate this fear.

—Replies to the Reader

FESTIVALS

Festivals are gatherings necessary for refreshing the spirit and enjoying life. Normally a man's life is filled with selfish or sordid activities; during festivals he rises above them and feels one with the crowd.

When festivals are held in a temple the effect is more inspiring, for the joy is associated with worship; the vulgarities that flow from ordinary festivals like Holi cannot find a place. The company of devotees would also provide a group life of uplifted souls.

—Replies to the Reader

We have, alas, lost the spirit of enjoying festivals. Sometimes I feel unhappy as the younger generation, instead of making a festive day full of joy at home, depart to the club to play bridge, or go to those joyless cinemas where they sit silently gaping at 'stars' whose personal life is far from edifying and whose performance is rarely above depressing mediocrity, and who more often than not shed tears for two hours and call it art ! All my incitements have failed to induce the Bhavan to celebrate its Foundation Week with feasting, singing and dancing in a joyful, care-free spirit.

Gujarat is the worst criminal in this respect. It has lost the festive spirit which it had sixty years ago. It does not celebrate the Holi as North Indians do. Janmashtami is now too religious for our secular souls. Diwali, the ageless festival of light, is now a quiet show. We have not yet adopted Ganapati Utsava from Maharashtra.

Yet, some of us would like to make a fast on a festive day !

—*The World We Saw*

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

All theoretical controversies should be hushed. The Five-Year Plan is not a report, nor a chart; it is a national pledge and the national energy should be concentrated on implementing it. For, this will be the great test of our national will to progress.

*

The Plan, however, must be viewed in a wider perspective. Planning for development means sustained effort, but once its fruits begin to come, they will come cumulatively, thus creating an economic climate in which incomes and employment not only increase progressively, but provide the basis for a more accelerated development.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

FLOOD CONTROL

Floods cannot be stopped merely by improving embankments or constructing dams; side by side, the afforestation of the catchment area and the reconditioning of the mountain-sides through which the rivers pass is the most essential part of flood control and cure of ravined areas.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

FOOD MINISTER

A Food Minister is expected to look after not only cows and buffaloes but also fish, fowl and every other conceivable creature in the country. Playing Brahma, I had to create a new world of stud-bulls; playing Vishnu, I had to look after the health and well-being of domestic cattle; but playing Shiva, I had to see that the locusts are killed, and, if possible, a few monkeys too.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

FOOD PROBLEM

I do not want that we summon up courage to say : anybody who is prepared to put a plough in the land or tractor, we shall give him the land. If we can have a policy like that laid down by the Government, I shall be very glad because that is the only way that I can think of solving the problem of food. So long as our criterion is to remove the intermediate people, remove the absentee interests who are living on the fat of the land, it does not matter who it is who cultivates, whether he is the right type of big farmer or a financier who is prepared to learn agiculture through mechanical means, we will have solved our problem.

—*Food and People—Speech in Parliament*

FORCE

Where the good and the true, the meek and the innocent have to be defended, force has to be used and the enemies of Truth and Non-violence have to be destroyed.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

FORESTS

The cause of forestry, as you know, has always been uppermost in my mind. The Vedic culture which we have inherited was nurtured in the forests which our Aryan ancestors found covering the length and breadth of the country of their adoption.

It was in our forests that sages sang the Vedic hymns and saints preached their message. In our Puranas there are constant references to the merit earned by planting trees. Manu, the law-giver, laid down a heavy penalty for those who destroyed forests. Our entire religious background is composed of forest scenes : the Vrindavana of Lord Krishna, the Ashokavana of Sita, the Naimisharanya of the Rishis and the Dandakaranya of Rama's exile.

*

Civilizations in the past have disintegrated and disappeared not because of external forces, but because of what they did to themselves. In Babylon, Egypt, and elsewhere, we have the spectacle of proud and powerful empires losing their supremacy and vanishing under the stress, not of a foreign foe, but of a reckless destruction of their forests and the consequent loss of the soil which sustained life. Nearer home, similar trends are already discernible in the march of the Rajputana desert into the very heart of India. The shape of things to come has already cast its shadow over the land.

—Convocation Address at the Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun, 31st March 1951

FOREIGN AID

As regards the problem of external assistance, it has been authoritatively stated in Parliament that the country has to go forward mainly on its own efforts. It is an essential premise of a sound development plan that it must rely to the utmost extent possible on domestic resources; and our resources are not insignificant. Apart from political considerations also, it is not psychologically healthy for a country to become dependent on external assistance.

At the same time, we are living in an interdependent world. A larger flow of capital from the more advanced countries to the less advanced is not merely a matter of necessity from the point of view of the less developed countries but is, in my opinion, a condition for the maintenance of high and stable levels of income and employment the world over.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

India is, what now-a-days is termed a 'backward' nation. She naturally needs help in money and technical skill, and hopes that foreign countries will not deny her a helping hand. But she will not tie herself down to any single country for it. Her regard for independence, in this respect, is almost aggressive. She resents being offered crutches; rather than have them, she will walk her own way—may be stumbling now and then.

India makes no effort to swing the balance of trade in favour of one country, or one set of countries. At the same time, she places no restriction or limitation upon communications with any other country, except when it singles Indians out as its enemies. Thus we are trying to evolve a new technique in world relationship which is characteristically Indian.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

FOREIGN BREAD

We have achieved freedom from foreign rule; but we have yet to achieve freedom from foreign bread; and till we achieve it our freedom will not be founded in strength.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

FOREIGN POLICY

The position that our country has built up and the prestige that our Prime Minister's foreign policy has built for our country is such that it has brought us the goodwill of practically the whole world; and in days of difficulty the greatest thing that we can look forward to is the way in which the heart of the world has gone out to us.

—*Food and People—Speech in Parliament*

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

The world is now gripped by the tremendous propaganda of interested foreign powers. We should, therefore, learn to be Indians first and foremost and to judge all foreign things as Indians.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

FOUNDATION OF CIVILIZATION

At the dawn of history the foundation of the world's civilization was laid on the banks of the Sindhu and the Narmada.

When other peoples were just emerging from the Stone Age we had the City-State and trade organisation, the potter's wheel and the carver's knife, artistic metallurgy and exquisite seal-cutting, baths and public buildings, geometry, star-reading, magic formulae and writing tablets. We had the worship of the Mother and of Pasupati, Lord Shiva. With that little icon of Pasupati buried for six thousand years in the sands of Indus Valley begins the unbroken thread of our life which at present is seen in its luxuriance at Amarnath, in Kashmir and Rameshwar, at Cape Comorin, in the million temples where today the Nandi kneels to his master, the God of Gods, Mahadeva.

We passed on the torch of civilization to Sumer; Sumer passed it on to Babylonia and Syria; from thence it was passed on to the West.

—*Address delivered at the Vikramaditya Bi-millennial Celebration, Kanpur, 9th December 1943*

FREE COUNTRY

A free country is one where an individual is not an instrument, but an end, of social existence; where his dignity is protected by the Constitution; where every religion is tolerated and respected; where, subject to the paramount loyalty to the Constitution and orderly progress, expression of opinion is free; where all differences are settled by peaceful discussion; and where free and unfettered elections permit of honest representatives of the nation to be returned to the governing body of the country.

—*Replies to the Reader*

FREEDOM

Men and women have to be free and equal, subject only to the law of truth and service.

Gandhi : The Master

Freedom is easier to gain than to preserve. At all times a free nation has to be vigilant and determined in safeguarding it. For this purpose we have to replenish its faith in freedom from time to time by recapturing in its imagination the struggles, trials and sufferings through which it passed before freedom was secured.

We have also to maintain the spirit of freedom by keeping alive the memory of the heroes and martyrs whose undaunted courage paved the path to freedom. For we have to weave the spirit into the texture of our Collective Unconscious, so that no one can enslave us any more.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

Man has mastered the art of organisation. He has acquired the power to destroy millions or to transform them into rigidly obedient machines. As a result, in vast countries once pledged to freedom, the independent individual is extirpated, and a ruthless embargo is laid on freedom of thought. More men of ideas are refugees in foreign lands today than at any time in history. With parts of the world gone mad with fanatic hate and ruthless power, the man who wants to think his own thoughts and lead his own life finds himself powerless and isolated among contending zealots, and often has no place to pursue his own way of life.

—*Inaugural Address at the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom,*
Bombay, 23rd March 1951

FREE EDUCATION

A student under the influence of Creative Education is the crucible through which the Culture has to pass in order to acquire fresh vigour. To secure the best of students for this vital process, the *Smritis* enjoin that learning shall be imparted to whoever seeks it, without receiving monetary return.

The modern world under Westernistic influence has elevated money into a divinity. Men of learning think in terms of money and a rising cost of living. Entry into educational institutions, more often than not, depends upon the fees that a student can afford. Our universities impose handicaps on education which would be considered criminal in any society where values were not hopelessly perverted. The cost involved in luxurious building; excellent furniture, costly equipment and security deposits, place education beyond the reach of the deserving poor student.

It has not yet come to be recognised that it is the fundamental duly of the State in India, as elsewhere, to provide the costliest education free to the deserving student. In the meantime, however, we must, as far as our means permit, uphold the first principle that no promising young man of character who believes in India and her culture be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

FREUD

Freud and his followers, who occupy places of importance in almost every university in the world, have found a valid psychological excuse for every moral lapse, thus extinguishing the sense of moral responsibility in man.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

FRUSTRATION

Why should young men ever feel frustration in free India? More careers are now open for able, educated and aspiring young men than at any other time in our long history. Fifty years ago, many of us studied in grim poverty; we had no careers worth the name open before us. Today all the careers of a free country are open to those who have the will to work. We have the economic structure of our country to build up. Our freedom has to be strengthened and preserved. Our ways of life have to be reintegrated. India awaits the day when her mission in history is fulfilled. No sane person can say now that at present there is no cause to live and die for.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

We are in a secular state and have accepted the fundamental law of human rights as a basic value towards which the democratic world is moving. But if human rights are to become a reality for everyone, we need not only the goodwill of governments, but the active encouragement and determined co-operation of the teachers and the students in Universities. How many professors and students in our colleges have studied the constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights embodied in our Draft Constitution and the

United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights which are the supreme expressions of the will for peace and justice? How many are prepared to fight for these rights? Recent events show that we, in power, easily develop a ruler-complex inconsistent with democratic ideals. Nor is our public life so seasoned as to withstand a breach of this fundamental law on the part of those in power. Political studies in the universities must, therefore, set the pace for controlling such tendencies.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University, 20th November 1949

FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF CULTURE

What are the fundamental values of culture as contrasted with those that are non-fundamental? Fundamental values are those which have a perennial appeal so long as the culture lasts. Generation after generation finds self-fulfilment by living up to these values. And the culture persists only so long as the best men in each generation find such self-fulfilment.

These fundamental values of a culture are not unrelated. They arise from, and are vitalised by, a single central idea—an idea which is not a means to an end but an end in itself—persisting through continuous times. So long as the Central Idea retains its vitality and so long as its fundamental values are reflected in the collective outlook of the people so long and no longer will the culture live.

—Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters

FUTURE LIFE

Many astrological books give the idea of the future life of a man. But I have not seen the man who has an idea of his future life, and even if he has, there would be no criterion by which his idea can be tested.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963

GANDHIJI

For the first time in the history of politics, Gandhiji's insistence on Truth challenged the Machiavellian political tradition that the end justified the means. Truth must prevail in politics as elsewhere, for politics, according to Gandhiji, could not be isolated from a religious devotion to Truth. "At one time", he said, "I thought God was Truth. Now I know Truth is God". Thus, for thirty years, the goal of India's politics, under Gandhiji, was to win freedom by open and honest means; and the weapons were non-violent non-co-operation, civil disobedience and collective Satyagraha in which earnest spirits, by self-invited martyrdom for the cause, became the source of efficacy.

*

Gandhiji thus applied the effective substitute for war for which the world was waiting. As a result, we saw in 1947 how non-violent collective action had generated power in the Indian Nation; how the Nation secured the transfer of power to itself; and how history was presented with a spectacle of a powerful conqueror voluntarily leaving the shores of India so that she might be free. This was non-violence in its positive aspect; India and Britain, bitterly hostile for generations, became great friends in the hour of parting.

*

Wherever there are men of God, or wherever truth and non-violence are respected, Gandhiji enlists an active crusader.

*

Often enough, we remember him as the Father of the Nation. Many people invoke his name to support policies which they think he would have supported if he had been alive. Sometimes his name is invoked for policies which, I am sure, had he been alive, he would have been the first to condemn.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

Dictators had been known to put critics out of the way, by doubtful means. But Gandhiji did not rule by force, intrigue or violence. His method was simple. Very often selfless reason was the only weapon he employed. He invariably worked himself into a morally sound position, and everything that he did not support looked absurd or immoral.

*

Gandhiji did not lay down one policy for leaders and another policy for the masses. He was the first to practise what he preached. If the sense of possession was sin, it was a sin for his wife, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, to keep even a few rupees with her, however innocently. If Rajkot was a failure, it was a failure to be proclaimed and repented for, publicly. No great man, known to history, has publicly confessed to so many weaknesses and blunders. Not that the others were not guilty of such lapses, but their sense of Truth did not demand an open acknowledgement.

—*I follow the Mahatma*

His uncanny perception, his gift of evoking loyalty, his extraordinary capacity of organisation, would have made Gandhiji found an empire in any age when empire-making as a career had been open to any man.

—*Gandhi : the Master*

GANDHIJI'S ASSASSINATION

Fate has its own irony; Gandhiji who practically banished the terrorist cult from India became himself its victim; the last one, I hope.

Godse came to look upon Gandhiji as the root of all evil. In his murder, he saw the triumph of the Hindu Cause. What did he gain ? Gandhiji passed away in a blaze of glory. His life, because of the martyrdom, became more majestic and soul-stirring. Even the Hindus who were unhappy over Gandhiji's over-generous attitude towards Pakistan, were shocked into being stauncher Gandhians. The Nation, in the hour of its need, lost its Father, and nothing was a greater loss on the noble tradition of Hinduism than the fatal shot fired on that afternoon of the 30th January 1948.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

GANDHIJI'S LEADERSHIP

Gandhiji's leadership was superb. He often changed his views; his techniques were not the same at all times. But his aim was always clearly defined. His lead was unequivocal. The image that he created in the words and actions reflected such sensitiveness to the inner urges of the Indians that they saw in him a reflection of their own aspirations. He never allowed people to become suspicious, nor was he afflicted—though he was a Mahatma—by moral or intellectual snobbery, rationalising defeat in self-satisfying terms.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 3rd March 1963*

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS

When Mahatma Gandhi's letters come to be published, they will fill volumes of valuable literature. Every letter is a perfect gem, well and appropriately worded, with a ringing note of candour. They are models of conciseness. Many are playful; some loving. Many administer rebuke; some, with indescribable restraint, hit, and hit well; a few are intimate; scarcely any throbs with the impulse of an unguarded moment. The author adjusts the tone, the language and the perspective of every letter with uncanny precision so as to have the desired effect on the addressee. These letters have provided him with his greatest instrument of controlling the conscience and conduct of his friends and adherents. No man has wielded so great an influence through his letters; and few literary men have written theirs with such art.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

GANDHIJI'S LITERATURE

In literature written by Gandhiji we find every aspect of life dealt with, with an uncanny perception of the human mind. We find in him a literary artist of the highest order. He expresses himself in a stern and brief manner, but with a heart full of kindness. Those who have read his letters to children while in jail would realise that he has a beautiful understanding of the minds of the little ones, and that there is nothing like that in the world's literature except perhaps Peter Pan. On the other side, we have the great indignant outbursts against Lord Birkenhead and Lord

Linlithgow. These are also the works of a perfect leterary mind. In that sense, "Gandhi literature" is a great contribution and ranks among the world's greatest literary masterpieces.

"Gandhi literature," apart from being a treasure-house of literary masterpieces, discloses a message. His words have the ring of truth.

There is a compactness of word, thought and deed in every syllable. His every word is a living embodiment of his sincere belief in Truth. Language, in his hand, has become not merely a vehicle of thought, but a vehicle of the soul. That is why his books are read by millions. His *Experiments with Truth* is one of the beautiful books in English literature, and might be ranked as the third greatest biography, besides Rousseau's *Confessions* and Goethe's *Truth and Beauty*. It will go down to posterity as the greatest work which enshrined Truth.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

GANDHIJI'S LOGIC

Gandhiji objected to any advocacy of violent resistance in Hindu-Muslim riots and in wars like the present, but he favoured killing irrepressible monkeys and the use of all forms of resistance by women against their abductors. Apparent inconsistency between the two attitudes only shows the immense difficulties which even highly involved individuals find in teaching and enforcing the Law of Moral Causation in its entirety, in a world of men and women who neither understand nor believe in it.

*

The Gandhian logic is unanswerable. Suppose an armed man wants to convert me to his views and I refuse to be converted. He threatens my life. I still refuse to yield. He cuts my throat. I die without being converted. In this struggle who is the victor ? And who is the vanquished ? The victor is not the armed assailant. I am the victor, for the armed assailant failed to convert me.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

GANDHISM *vs.* MARXISM

Gandhiji stood for truth and non-violence. Marxism frankly stands for camouflage and violence. Truth as understood by Gandhiji implied the unity of thought, word and action. When we wanted to commit a breach of law under the leadership of Gandhiji, it was enjoined that we should inform the Police Commissioner about it beforehand; that we should be gentle when we broke the law; that we should unresistingly offer ourselves for imprisonment.

Under the Marxism doctrine we have to take advantage of a democratic set-up to blow up democracy; to adopt the policy of the Trojan Horse; to enter into institutions and organizations under cover of agreement to capture them and make them subserve our violent ends. Marxism enjoins that to secure the end of world domination any means can be employed so long as they are calculated to succeed.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

GANGA

I have now seen the Ganga Ma at close quarters—from my car as I travelled on the roads parallel to her course; from Kala Kankar's palace which overhangs the river; at Prayag where her white waves mingle with the bluish waters of the Jamuna; from the Ghats at Kashi, and from the overhanging terrace of Kashi-Naresh at Ramnagar. Ganga is Ganga—incomparable; she is something awesome as her wide waters, swollen during the rains, sweep past majestically. I can now understand her hold over the Collective Unconscious of India through the ages.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

GAYATRI MANTRA

Gayatri Mantra, the Mantra Drishta Rishi of which is Vishwamitra, is a prayer to God Sun to stimulate our intelligence. It sums up the truth that the Sun is the source not only of our life, but of our intellect, conscience and spiritual inspiration. It is most sacred, for it reminds man of his destiny as an instrument of the spirit which pervades the Universe. It also teaches us to be humble, inasmuch as it teaches that human intelligence is only the expression of cosmic energy.

I have got a theory why Gayatri Mantra was singled out as the best of Vedic Mantras. Rishi Vishwamitra, as Vedic evidence shows, stood for absorbing all peoples, whatever their racial descent, into the Aryan fold, and this Mantra became the magic chant which made every person who chanted it to develop Aryan qualities, whatever his race or colour.

—*Replies to the Reader*

GEISHAS OF JAPAN

Whatever these 'geishas' were, they are exquisitely dainty like artistic porcelain dolls or pictures in a silk painting. They had perfect figures, dressed in rainbow coloured kimonos and obis, their coiffeurs being works of art. And their manners were inimitably perfect.

The 'geishas' in modern Japan appear to occupy a position similar to the *varanganas* in Ancient India who were all so accomplished that even princes, as we know from Sanskrit works, kept their company to learn statecraft. And Emperor Bhojadeva wrote *Sringaramanjari* on the art which they practised of winning men.

—*The World We Saw*

GENERAL ELECTIONS

During the last General Elections, all of us had an opportunity to see democracy in action throughout the country. About 19 crores of Indians had the franchise; of them, 12 crores went to the polling booth. The elections, the largest in recorded history, passed off peacefully. The arrangements were above suspicion. Every party had a fair chance of testing its strength.

The man-power of the country was mobilised by an urge to exercise the franchise as never before. Illiterate women, with or without the purdah, left their kitchen and carrying their children with them, came to vote. So did old men, on the shoulders of their kinsmen; and the beggars too, though their anxiety to exercise the franchise, I am sure, was inspired more by the arts of the election agent than by the democratic impulse. This was a great event. It showed that the people are on the move in this ancient land.

The most notable feature in the elections was that the voter, in most cases, exercised his franchise with intelligence and freedom. Some very powerful people fell off the wall, like Humpty-Dumpty; others were chastened; most people were driven to self-introspection.

The 'lamp-post' theory was exploded; for the ballot box on the whole reflected the unexpressed preferences of the voters. The results provided a free and popular verdict on even very tall persons in the country. The vote thus became the symbol of the dignity of a free Indian Citizen.

The elections, however, threw into relief some of our national weaknesses. Casteism, for instance, dominated the vote at many places. Communalism was used at several places as a lever to gain the voters' support; it ended by rousing counter-communalistic tendencies. At places, "linguistic nationalism,"—so unabashedly advocated by Communist leaders—swept voters off their feet—a feature completely destructive of nationalism and, in so far as it divides the nation into language groups, also destructive of democracy. All this indicated that there has been a retreat from the democratic attitude which the people had during the previous General Elections.

—Bhavan's Journal, 11th August 1957

GITA

The Gita has nourished, age after age, the urge to self-fulfilment, of men from Arjuna to Gandhiji, and is even now the strength to millions in the present generation, from the President of the Republic downwards.

—Presidential Address of the All-India Cultural Congress, Delhi, 18th March 1951

Yet the modern educated mind in India is a timid mind. It has a subconscious feeling that if it is found relying too often on the *Gita*, the possessor—the arrogant modern—will be classed with the superstitious, the weak, the outworn.

It is a real fear amongst us. But if India is to continue its triumphant march to world influence, the fear must be cast out.

St. Paul in his letter to the Romans said : "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." Why should any one be ashamed of the Gospel which Shri Krishna taught to mankind ? No man is ashamed of his learning, of his artistic gifts, or of displaying power, however little it be. Why should he be ashamed of openly confessing the real source of power, the power which strengthens every one when he is feeble, inspires him when he is weak and upholds him when he is strong ?

*

The more desperate the situation, the greater is the power which the *Gita* reveals. This has been the experience of the strong. Why should it not be the inspiration of us, the weak ?

*

The power which the *Gita* gives comes not merely to individuals but to communities and nations as well, if they could translate its message into action.

*

Urge to disintegration, lack of will to work, unrighteous race for power, communism—the church of human regimentation—are still our foes. The message of the *Gita* is the country's only hope. India must dedicate itself to God. It should give up illusory hopes of a cheaply earned millennium of Ramrajya. It should listen to the voice of God and develop the will to resist all evil, in whatever form it faces us.

—The Bhagavad-Gita: An Approach

The strength which the *Gita* gives does not lie on the surface. It lies in real personal power; not like the power of the worldly, in apparent glitter and domination. It is the power that adds something to everyone to whom it comes. By and through it, the weak become strong; the shallow, deep; the voluble, silent; the insolent, humble; the wasted, effective. It gives the power of God to every one that believes; the power to arise and win glory, to overcome foes and to enjoy kingship; a power higher than which no man may covet or gain.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

GITA—THE RIGHT APPROACH

When you read the *Gita* again and again, as all scripts should be read, the words begin to grow in you, the nervous system is stimulated; the constant repetition of some appealing verse transforms our mental content and makes the spirit more articulate. Then it is woven into the texture of our mind and spirit. If we feel down-hearted, one of the oft-repeated verses will rise to the surface in the shape of a mandate and we will find in ourselves a new hope. If we find ourselves in difficulty, a clear direction will vibrate through us and we will see our way clear.

Now we feel a new strength which can confront failure and sorrow, frustration and despair, with courage. Beauty sinks into our soul. We share the vision and the faith of those in whom the human spirit has risen superior to suffering, weakness and death.

We must, therefore, read the *Gita*, not in order to acquire knowledge, but to see the Light which burns within us. When we have attempted this, we find it better to wonder than to know, to aspire than to be satisfied.

When this state of mind is reached, simplicity and courage begin to grow. Material ambitions and fleeting emotions appear unreal. Through silence and peace we come face to face with God.

It is then that the hazy half-forgotten memories of childhood materialise as articulate aspirations. The self, of which one was so sure a moment ago, is no more than a bubble that has burst. One feels but an instrument from which a fresh, unfamiliar music wells up, swept by a Presence which can translate a jarring existence into a concord of sweet sounds.

Such a mood does not lead us to withdraw from toil, nor from suffering or affections. It sends us back to active life with renewed hope, zest and vigour and with a desire to see, feel and achieve beautiful things—the first step towards the dynamic unity of our powers.

As we recite the *Gita* again and again, we become for the moment tolerant, patient and forgiving; egoism falls away from us. Our hearts develop the power to pity the weak and to befriend the desolate. We admire all those who are noble, serene and strong.

It is at such moments, when we are enveloped in an atmosphere of wide calm, that we find living a joy. A moment of ecstasy follows. We feel and experience that we are His. All that we have to do is to obey His will. We then begin to live in the work of the moment, which becomes an humble offering to Him as if it were a beautiful flower.

You should, therefore, read the *Gita* with the one purpose, that a sense of beautiful mystery should gather around you. Its significance will then shine within you like a star that will reveal to you the beauty and strength which are hidden within yourself. And as the mystery grows, you will be led to self-fulfilment.

—Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters

GLASS-WALLED HOUSES

It was Corbusier who started the fashion of what are called "radiant cities," sixty-storyed glass-walled skycrapers. I saw one or two of them being constructed in New York. I have no doubt in my mind that when people begin to live in these glass-houses, they will look more or less as do our pilgrims taking their dip in the old-fashioned style in the waters of the Ganga. The onlooker will have one advantage over those who congregate to witness the pilgrims, however. On the banks of the Ganga, you can only see the monotonous sight of men and women doing nothing but bathing. In glass-walled houses, the acrobatics performed by the residents will hardly lack variety.

—Swan Love and other Kulapati's Letters

GOPASHTAMI WEEK

The Gopashtami week is intended for the dedication of seven days of concentrated effort to rescue the cow from being the object of sloppy sentiment.

The festival, therefore, must be celebrated in the right spirit. Before the festival, steps have to be taken to restore the cattle to health. During the festival we should lead the cow, the bullock and the bull in jay processions, and prize competitions should be held. In some parts of India there is bullock-cart racing. I wish we could make it popular once again.

For a week in each year at least let us restore the cow to her proper position in Indian life and cherish her as 'mother,' not only in name but in reality. Let us feed her, nurse her and give her the affectionate care to which she is entitled.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

GOSPEL OF THE DIRTY HAND

What is wanted is that you (Agricultural graduates) yourself must be a farmer: farmer in spirit, farmer in wider knowledge and farmer in your enthusiasm for the soil. That is why, in the last two years, I have repeatedly said that we want the 'Gospel of the Dirty Hand.' We must learn to soil our hands; we must learn to go and dig in the field; we must know how to make a compost pit; we must ourselves go and get the manure and do everything which the agriculturist is doing.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

GOTRA

The *gotra* was a group of families claiming descent from a common male ancestor and was the unit of society; a federation of *gotras* formed the *jana* which claimed an eponymous hero as the common but remote ancestor. Intermarriage between members of the same *gotra* was forbidden. Five such tribes formed the *pancha-janah* who constituted the conquering race in the Sapta Sindhu of Rigvedic times. Their common ancestor was Manu.

—*Convocation Address of Gita Vidyalaya, Bombay, 20th July 1950*

GOVERNMENT

The functions of the Governments are no longer, as in the past, to collect revenue, maintain law and order and keep the country safe for an alien rule. Being the instrument of a welfare state, it is now operating the economic system to further production and secure a wide distribution of the material resources of the country. As representative of the community, it has also been undertaking commercial and other activities.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

GOVERNMENT JOBS

The idea that education must lead to a Government job is poisoning the very roots of education in India. There is a proverb in Gujarati—perhaps forgotten by the present generation : "The best occupation is agriculture; next is trade; the worst is service. These values have now been reversed : "Service is best; trade is the next best; the worst is agriculture." With such values, how can India produce more and grow rich?

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

GOVERNORS

The Governor has the very difficult task of carrying on his duties within the limitations imposed upon him by the Constitution. He has to keep in touch with things of importance happening in the State or in the administration. By exercising his personal influence he has also to help his Ministers to make both the administration and the democratic experiment a success. He is the watch-dog of constitutional propriety; he is the link which binds the State to the Centre, and thus secures the constitutional unity of the country; yet he has to guard against interfering with the sphere of administration for which the Ministers are responsible. He has also to keep a watch over the barometric fluctuations of local problems and public opinion, to form a clear opinion of the public's reactions to the policies of his Government and to apprise his Chief Minister of what his views on them are. The Governor has also in a remote, but imponderable, way, to look after the interests of the services and to help in seeing that they maintain happy and loyal relations with the Ministry.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

GRAMDAN MOVEMENT

Just as Gandhiji mobilised the spiritual impulse of *ahimsa* (Non-violence), Vinobaji is trying to mobilise the spiritual impulse of *aparigraha* (Non-possession). Vinobaji, through Gramdan Movement, keeps our spiritual tradition alive, when it is being drowned by ego-driven solutions of economists and social scientists who want to change man without changing his nature.

—*Replies to the Reader*

GRAMMAR

The greatest handicap for a fresh student is the emphasis which at an initial stage is often placed on the formal study of grammar. Dr. Bhandarkar's text books of Sanskrit, for instance, by their insistence on teaching rules of grammar first, ruined the popularity of Sanskritic studies in our universities. The student is first asked to cram the rules of grammar, though at that stage he does not understand what exactly the rule is or how it is to be applied. The study of grammar must be postponed, to induce an early familiarity with the language.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

GREAT NATIONAL REVOLT

The events of 1857 were not a "Sepoy's Mutiny"; in fact, it was the first stage of our struggle for freedom. This spontaneous upsurge which, though inspired by various causes, sporadic and unforeseen, was driven forward by the one underlying popular impulse to get rid of the British from India.

*

It is one of the misfortunes of history that at that supreme crisis in 1857-58, India threw up no general like Nepoleon who could forge the soldiery into an instrument of victory; nor did it throw up a wise leader like Washington who could convert the struggle into a general movement of resistance, leading to a war of freedom. The time was not ripe; we had then the nightmare of centuries to shake off.

The Great Revolt led to the emergence of our will to Freedom, uncertain and feeble though it was. The first step towards integration was taken. It was left to the succeeding decades, to a Dayanand Saraswati, to the founders and leaders of the Congress, to Tilak, Aurobindo and Gandhi, to translate this Will of a disarmed and overwhelmed country into a universal movement of resistance, which, ultimately, under the leadership of the Mahatma, blossomed into the non-violent war of civil disobedience, and led to freedom on the 15th August 1947.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

GREENERY

The immense volume of green leaves, as it sways in the breeze, creates a feeling of joyous peace in me. In the leaf, the twig and the branch, I find a mysterious world of beauty which can only be compared in its freshness to a young maiden's first love.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

GROUP IDEA

One of the greatest forces in human evolution is the group idea. That the group is all-important, that the individual is but its constituent and instrument, is an idea which has led humanity to evolve increasingly larger and more compact groups.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

GUJARAT

Ethical, religious and spiritual ideals have always been modified in Gujarat to suit its temperament. High spirituality and learning have been always neglected in favour of a practical application of moral principles. Gujarat has been the home of magnificent temples and charitable and philanthropic institutions. In old times, the Jain 'Sadhu,' the humble 'Pauranik' and the village 'Bhakta' brought solace and help to the poor and the distressed. 'Ahimsa' has, at all times, leavened corporate life. For ages there has been scarcely a town or a large village without its 'Sadavrata' to feed the poor, its 'Panjrapol' to house maimed cattle. Kumarapala and Hemchandra made of it a political doctrine.

Gujarat, however, prefers the joy of life to ascetic rigour. The high-browed Brahmin and the stern 'Sadhu' have come and gone. Akho taught all the horrors of this fleeting world. Swaminarayan's puritanical teachings and in recent years even Mahatma Gandhi's gospel of renunciation have held its soul in subjugation only for a time. But Gujarat has a genius ot its own. Its sons and daughters will make money and spend it on the arts of life; they will live and laugh, and love and sing joyfully.

—*Gujarat and Its Literature*

GUJARATIS

The Gujaratis, with business habits extending over centuries, have always been calculating, but the arithmetic of their life has become very comprehensive. They have found in wealth an instrument of tremendous power in modern life—a sword in war, in peace a ploughshare. They have realised its interdependence with political power, and placed theirs at the service of the nation. At the same time, they have been shaped into a compact race; an organic whole with a strong collective will. More, they have forgotten the sorrows of six centuries and acquired a background of heroic traditions. Sabarmati and Bardoli, Borsad and Ras, the squares and roads of Bombay, have been hallowed by struggle and sacrifice. An elemental note of heroism has come into their life and history.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

GUJARATI LANGUAGE

Old Gujarati can be traced as far back as A.D. 100. Sufficient number of works have survived to show that in the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th centuries there was a well developed literature both in prose and poetry.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

GURU

Unless we are inspired by a Guru and for a few years live in his company, it is very difficult to change our mental content.

—Replies to the Reader

GURUKUL VISHVAVIDYALAYA

The Gurukul gives indeed what few other universities are capable of giving—faith in India and its future. Indian culture lives with as much vitality today as at the time when the cultures of Egypt and Iran were not yet born. It has faced the vicissitudes of centuries. It has emerged to form a free and compact nation, standing for the great Truths which our ancestors saw and served. Its mission in the future is to raise mankind to the life of the Spirit; not the spirit in the narrow earthly sense, but the spirit which rises above material comforts, that stimulates the fundamental aspirations and works for the uplift of humanity towards that Light and Freedom which we call God. This faith of ours is not of yesterday, it is as old as the Vedas, and if India lives today, it is because of this Faith. It finds a place in the hearts of millions of Indians. Only the young educated men have failed in large numbers to capture afresh the vitality of this culture. In your Gurukul, however, as I have said, you have kept this Faith burning bright.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

HAMLET

Of all the literary works I have read, *Hamlet* leaves me most amazed. Shakespeare, with penetrating insight, has fore-shadowed the age which began in his time.

Hamlet, as a character, is the symbol of the frustrated world in which we live. I have met no literary creation, nor can I conceive of any experience that could leave me so heart-broken, so dazed by life's futility. Hamlet is the typical man flung in the midst of the wild waves of a dark sea, without a value to cling to, without the solace of the shining stars above, without a hope of a happy future.

Was Shakespeare a prophet? Or did he only give us warnings of the times like ours, which try to forget God and leave man's mind in the grip of unchartered despair? For, as if giving a ray of hope, he offers the remedy: "To thine own self be true." *Swadharme nidhanam shreyah*: Better to die in being true to one's own task.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HAPPINESS

Real happiness comes of the peace of mind. Peace of mind comes by faith that you are in the hands of God, and by accepting whatever befalls you as being the result of His will.

—*Replies to the Reader*

HAR-KI-PAIRI

From a place little further up the river we took a boat and came to Har-ki-Pairi. On this famous ghat, men, women and children, sadhus, cows and beggars were gathered, pushing each other cheerfully; making room for the cow; shouting, bathing, changing clothes; receiving blessings from the Brahmins, buying toys for children and feeding the huge fish which in this part of the river move about with absolute fearlessness.

As I went up the Pairi steps into this crowd, I felt, as nowhere else, the real eternal India of faith and hope; the India that wants to live in the world but also in close proximity to God.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HATHAYOGA

The Saivayogis were adepts in 'Hathayoga' which is the art of completely controlling the body, including all its vital activities. One of the highest stages for a Hathayogi is called *urdhvaretas*, which, among other things, includes a mastery over the muscles and nerves of the sexual organ, in order to eliminate sex desire and obtain extraordinary longevity. This mastery is indicated in the icon of Pasupati of the Mohenjo-daro period, and in the eleventh century image of Lakulisa of the Fourth Temple of Somnath.

—*Somnath : The Shrine Eternal*

Let us make no mistake about it. From earliest recorded time, Hathayoga has been the Indian technique for acquiring physical perfection. Though developed in other-worldly trappings, it is very much this-worldly.

To the Shaivite Yogi, the great adventure was to become Shiva through that absolute control of the body and nerves leading to the development of supra-sensory powers. But its primary aim was to make the body immortal. Its pioneers—the 'Chiranjivis'—are claimed as having become immortal in flesh. Pre-eminent among them are Parashurama and Ashvatthama; as also Bhartrihari and Gopichand, who are sung of in the moving folk-songs of the Nath Sampradaya street-singers.

The 'Urdhvaretas' could live as long as they liked. Bhishma, Sri Krishna and Lakulesh, the founder of the 'Pashupat' cult of Shaivism, are said by tradition to have possessed this power.

Sri Chand, the great 'Udasin' saint, lived for 150 years. In 1905, I myself saw Brahmanand, who blessed Sri Arvind into Yogihood; he had fought in his youth at the Third Battle of Panipat which took place in 1763. The Sadhu in Joshimath is about 120; Hansdevji is 109, and Madhavdasji, the guru of Kuvalayanand, the founder of the Yoga Ashram in Bombay, lived up to about 90.

Hathayoga has two aspects: one developmental, the other therapeutic. All the exercises—'Kriyas'—eschew extraneous aid, whether of drugs or appliances. Their aim is to regulate and rejuvenate the internal organs. 'Neti' removes mucus, which is the source of very many troubles. 'Pranayam' provides exercise for all the internal organs. In fact, it vitalises them, not only by deep breathing, but by the manipulation of the lungs either when filled or emptied of air. 'Sarvangasan' reverses the flow of blood and strengthens the arteries and the sagging viscera. 'Shirshasan' —the exercise of standing on the head—is claimed to have the merit of preventing brain-fag.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HEALTH AND VITALITY

According to my experience, what keeps up the vitality of the body and mind is minimum of food, modicum of exercise and maximum of sleep, together with continued and unwavering interest in different aspects of life; more than anything else, considering regrets as a cardinal sin to be avoided at all costs and submission to the will of God as the best of tonics.

—*Replies to the Reader*

HEAVEN AND HELL

Heaven is there in this life for the man who develops Truth, Love, Power, Beauty, Calmness and Light. He, to whom these are not accessible, is in Hell.

I don't believe that there is a separate heaven or hell to which one goes after death. But I believe in rebirth, and as you act in this birth, so you make heaven or hell of this life as also of the next.

—*Replies to the Reader*

HEROISM

Human beings generally show great heroism under the stress of attachment or fear or malice or hatred. The whole technique of modern warfare is based upon rousing man to collective action under the urge of self-interest or fear of the enemy or hatred.

—*Gandhi : the Master*

HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the fundamental values of our culture has been boundless intellectual audacity, which was smothered during the Age of Resistance (A.D. 1000 to 1658). Thought and scholarship, however, during the period of Modern Renaissance (A.D. 1658 to 1947) awakened to new energy and power. The wings of higher intellectual speculation have yet to gather strength, however.

The tragic fact is that in many quarters which ought to know better, even higher education is considered a luxury. I know it is a passing phase, but, if in our universities we do not realise the danger underlying such an outlook, we are doomed.

Young men in our universities are rightly developing a thirst for technological careers. In the field of science, however, we are behind the advanced nations of the world. Our country, unfortunately, lacks both equipment and talent for higher research. Our population is increasing; our food supply is tragically short; our knowledge of technology is rudimentary. Science, therefore, is not for us a luxury but a matter of life and death.

—*Convocation Address at Banaras Hindu University,*
20th November, 1949

HIMALAYAS

Here you have the Himalayas of the 'Divine Soul', the lord of the mountains, the source of all the security, plenty and beauty in India. A slice of it was ancient Aryavarta, with Naimisharanya, from where sprang the streams of truth and beauty which have helped our race to a higher life of the Spirit, at its heart.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

HINDI

Few people can dispute the fact that Hindi, as the national language, has come to stay. There is little need for carrying on propaganda for the purpose. What should be done, in my opinion, is to concentrate on developing enough expressive power in the present Hindi to make it a complete medium for the purposes of modern life. It would not be scientifically correct to say that Hindi as it is today is sufficient for the purpose. It would be equally unrealistic to assume that the Hindi in use today will be accepted by the whole country without considerable modifications in structure, vocabulary and idiom. To make an attempt to do so is to go against the process of natural evolution, and will be the surest way to evoke resistance in the non-Hindi-speaking parts of the country.

*

For Hindi to be a language of power, efforts should first be made to co-ordinate its study with the study of other Indian languages. This will require that the study of Hindi will not be complete till one or two other Indian languages are studied at the same time, and familiarity with the currents of the languages and literatures of other parts of India is acquired.

*

We have to import in our language the vast armoury of words to indicate things and thoughts which modern civilisation has built up all over the world for the last 300 years. That is why it is important that foreign words, which have already been assimilated into the language, should not be discarded in favour of newly-coined equivalents which will only enfeeble it.

*

India has to take her share of the world's burdens in matters of politics, social relations and the advancement of knowledge. To my mind, it is therefore essential that we must concentrate on developing the range and power of Hindi, that higher studies in Hindi must be based on comparative study of Indian languages and literatures; that its strength and elasticity, rooted in Sanskrit, must be strengthened by a close study of that great language; and that in constant contact with English it must develop the power which few languages in the world possess in the same measure. We should not mix up propaganda with scholarship. We must not confuse the need of Hindi as a *lingua franca,* with the need of Hindi to become a language of power.

*

The development of Hindi should not be restricted to finding a terminology for foreign phrases, or to produce translations in Hindi, unless they are as good as the originals. As regards the first, the Government of India is doing that work for the whole country, and a multiplication of effort would be waste of energy. Words survive by use, not by arbitrary fiats of word-makers, and it is desirable that there should be uniformity of use throughout a country.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

HINDI-ENGLISH CONTROVERSY

People in many parts of India want to remove English immediately; Hindi cannot take its place with equal speed; and the vacuum is being filled by regional languages. If, therefore, you emphasise the elimination of English too insistently, Hindi will not gain, but lose; nationalism will suffer an eclipse; regional consciousness will grow; and the linguistic Balkanisation of India will bring about serious consequences. It is, therefore, dangerous to secure the speedy removal of English. To the ordinary mind it may appear as a highly patriotic performance, but our greatest danger today is linguism, the love of regional languages and the resurrection of regional pride, the instinct to develop linguistic imperialism, and the creation ot a psychological barrier between people who speak "our" language and the people who speak "other" languages. This will be the end of nationalism.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

English cannot be what it was in the past in India. Our cultural and political future depends upon Hindi as the National language. I say 'political future', for political strength and unity cannot reach that degree of intensity needed for survival in modern times, unless there is a universal medium bringing the masses into the common heritage of knowdedge and outlook and weaving a common pattern of national aspirations. Hindi has to become "Bharati" if Bharat has to live. No effort should therefore be spared to enrich, strengthen and popularise Hindi.

*

During the last one hundred and fifty years, Indians have produced a vast wealth of English literature. The works of Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal and many others are a national asset. Our great journals, day after day, supply news and mould the views of that large section of the population which represents the educated mind of the country. Those, therefore, who want to address this educated mind will continue to write in English and it is best that they should do it in good English rather than bad Hindi.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

On the Hindi-English controversy, some extremist groups express themselves as if national unity was of no account and a parliamentary decision was the fiat of an autocratic alien power.

In 1950, the Founding Fathers, after long deliberations, decided that Hindi and English should be associate languages of the Centre, till English is no more needed. The date 1965 was the expression of a hope, not an unalterable bar. Now the Hindi extremists want to impose Hindi on the whole country immediately and exclusively by legislative coercion. The protagonists of the anti-Hindi movement demand that the part of the Constitution dealing with Hindi should be deleted. Both sides are threatening coercive demonstrations.

What a pity! Learning, teaching and speaking of Hindi was one of the 13 points of Gandhiji's famous constructive programme. Beginning from the thirties, several hundred thousands in non-Hindi areas, particularly in the South, took to the study of Hindi as an essential patriotic duty. Hindi was then a badge of one's love for the motherland.

The extreme Hindi protagonist is blind to the impracticability of imposing Hindi as the sole Official language. The anti-Hindi-ite cannot shake off the delusion that English can remain an official language for all time to come. Both want to promote disruption.

The Bill as it has emerged from the Parliament is the only wholesome compromise suited to the situation. The clamour against it only indicates that certain sections of our people have no sense of accommodation on which alone national unity is based.

—Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963

HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE

The evolution of Sanskritic literary Hindi and Persianised literary Urdu was a natural growth in which neither hostility nor communalism entered in the earlier stages. It was not easy to arrest this growth. If a Hindu writer wrote a love lyric or a historical romance he could only seek inspiration from Jayadev, Vyas or Valmiki; if a Muslim writer pursued the literary art, to whom would he go, in the ordinary course, except to Sa'di and Hafiz?

These two currents would not meet till Hindustani, the medium of intercourse in the United Provinces, became sufficiently enriched to be the language of literature. If Hindi and Urdu works are translated or transcribed into each other freely, this result would be easily achieved.

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

HINDUISM

Hinduism, as I understand it, is not a narrow and bigoted creed; it is built on purer and nobler foundations. Its spirit is not enshrined in the later-day *Shastras*, but in the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagvad Gita*. Its message of idealism, as against the materialism of a sordid world, is the only thing which has made it immortal. It proclaims, as no other religion or philosophy does, the divine right of man to rise by self-discipline to the dignity of godhood. It teaches love even for the dumb and the low. The Hinduism which I have learnt from the scriptures is a world-culture, which knows no racial prejudices and no geographical limitations. If Hinduism is the selfish, arrogant creed which the Sanatanists make of it, if Hinduism can only be preserved by perpetuating untouchability, if to deny the sight of gods to man is an injunction of its scriptures, then Hinduism has no right to exist. Then the *Shastras* must be consigned to flames. A religion which seeks to flourish on the inequality of men is a negation of all that is noble, pure and holy.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

Hinduism does not mean merely the religious system with its doctrines, creeds and rituals. It also means the basic values which have been shaping the social, moral and spiritual way of our life from age to age.

Hinduism is the name which has now been given to our system but its real name has always been Sanatana Dharma or the Immutable, Eternal Law, ever-true, ever-life-giving. It does not date from a particular founder. Being eternal, it is also universal. It knows no territorial jurisdiction. All beings born and to be born belong to it. Thoroughout the ages our prayers are for universal well-being:

Sarve janaah sukhino bhavantu
Samasta sanmangalaani bhavantu.

Hinduism has undying vigour. Whenever it has been challenged it has developed creative strength and come out triumphant.

Hinduism had developed as a way of life with a distinctive social, moral and spiritual background long before the rise of Greece and Rome. The cultures of these countries are now museum-pieces while, in spite of historical vicissitudes, Hinduism flourishes today as vigorously as ever.

It is amazing that Hinduism should have survived thousands of years in spite of great social and political upheavals and terrific onslaughts on it from age to age. How Hinduism faced these challenges and readjusted itself is a standing testimony to its intrinsic power and undying vitality.

You know how Hinduism accepted the challenge which was presented to it in the 8th century when disintegration had overtaken Indian culture. The cult of *karma-kanda*—ritualism—which laid emphasis on sacrifices to the neglect of high religious aspirations, the Shakti cults, some of which favoured bloody magic rites, and decadent Mahayana Buddhism and Vamachar with their magic cults, threatened India with disintegration.

Then, as you know, arose Sankara Bhagavatpada who gave Hinduism fresh vitality and re-shaped life. His influence, after 1200 years, still permeates our life.

I have always stood in awesome admiration of the life and achievements of Sankara Bhagavatpada. In a short span of 32 years he performed the miracle of driving out decadent Buddhism and purifying and co-ordinating the different cults; of re-establishing Hinduism on a firm basis; of laying the foundation of a countrywide organisation of Sanyas *Ashramas* with *Peethas* at their head.

A poet, a teacher, a reformer, a philosopher with unique intellectual profundity, a *yogi* of miraculous powers, he stands unrivalled among men—a unique combination and the union, in the same person, of two qualities generally found separated—the union of the abstract and the concrete.

To him we owe the vitality which unified different religious schools and established the supremacy of Vairagya and Bhakti.

A similar challenge was given to Hinduism in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. In the South, you may not have felt the impact of this challenge as we in the North have done. Under the Muslim kings, Hindus were, more often than not, considered as belonging to an inferior race. Their shrines were desecrated; their schools of learning were destroyed.

For instance, the great shrines of Vishveshwar at Kashi and Somnath at Prabhas, with its great centre of Pashupat cult. The latter one was destroyed several times between A.D. 1024 and 1707 when Aurangazeb finally ordered that "the shrine should be destroyed beyond repair". And yet, in spite of this persecution, Hinduism put forth amazing vigour. During this period of 700 years, every time the shrine of Somnath was destroyed, it was restored within a few years till finally, in 1951, we restored the 'Shrine Eternal' to its pristine glory, Rashtrapati Rajendra Babu installing the deity.

In spite of the terrible destruction of Vrindavan by Ibrahim Lodi in the 15th century, Krishna Bhakti rose triumphantly. The Bhakti renaissance swept over the whole country and restored faith, from Nadia, the birth-place of Chaitanya, in the East, to Dwarka in the West. Srirangam, Madurai, Kanchi, Tirupati, Guruvayur, Trivandrum, etc. continued as active centres of faith.

Hinduism was faced with a similar challenge when the British conquered the country. On the one hand, they encouraged the proselytisation of Hindus to Christianity, and on the other, through Western education, tried to undermine the foundations of our faith in ancient tradition.

We accepted the challenge. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Dayanand Saraswati, Vivekananda, Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Ramana Maharshi and Mahatma Gandhi led the movement for Hindu renaissance. The Sankaracharyas of the different *mutts*, the sadhus and the religious movements like Arya Samaj all over the country put forward fresh energy to impart creative strength to the new religious impulse.

Now has come the challenge of modern science and technology. It has given birth to the new city life where money and success are the supreme ends of life; where there are no fixed social standards; where the schools and colleges promote an atmosphere solely fed on material values and unaffected by social, ethical, religious and spiritual ideals. The cinema is their temple and church; hedonism their most popular cult.

Educated men who borrow second-hand ideas of the West have come to believe that there is an inherent contradiction between religion and science. This modern belief is a Western myth. Hinduism has always given science a place in the religious system. We have always believed that religious dogmas cannot survive if they are based on exploded myths, while science and materialism can never give a satisfying answer to men's religious aspirations.

Many educated men, carried away by the glamour of the West, consider religion as a source of evil or, at any rate, as irrelevant to a rich, full and happy life. I ask them to ponder over the problem. What will happen if religion is taken away out of our life? If *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are forgotten? What will have been left if Sri Krishna and *Bhagvad Gita* are taken out of it? If the rituals and prayers which give stability to our life are given up or if the millions of temples around which our faith has been woven for centuries are destroyed?

If that event, which is looked forward to by those who quarrel with religion, comes to pass, all the evils will remain—narrow-mindedness, selfishness, greed, lust, hatred, corruption, wickedness, wars—in fact, everything that they think religion is responsible for, and more.

All that we would have lost is the mitigating, uplifting and ennobling influence of religion from our midst. And we would have closed the direct avenue of the individual and society rising to a nobler level.

The means of enjoying life have increased by far, but the irony of it is that at the same time happiness has not increased. The only logical conclusion possible is that an additional factor of great importance is necessary to bring happiness—that additional factor is active religion.

No great life of nobility and selflessness can be lived without an active sense of religion, for it has a purifying influence both on the individual and the society.

We must accept this challenge, for it is the most serious challenge which has ever come to us. Religion should be vitalised; exercises in faith must be satisfying to the modern mind; religious practices must be uplifting; religious symbols, inspiring. Temples must be clean, set in a sanctified atmosphere; the music accompanying the prayers must be soulful; the officiating priests must be men of learning and faith.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 9th June 1963*

HISTORY

Materialistic interpretation of history is a gross error. Man is not merely matter; nor a cog in the machine of collective life; nor a slave chained to the chariot of national or party aggrandisement. Material well-being is indeed an important element in the flow of history; but not its sole motive, nor even its principal determinant.

True interpretation of history is historical. It is a record of the progress or regression of man in terms of his self-fulfilment. The moving force behind it is the unfolding of the spirit through myriads of lives in their ceaseless struggle against evil and error, fear and violence.

*

History, like a mytserious goddess, has been all things to all men. As art, it has ranged from poetry and romance to sermons and propaganda in which prejudice masquerades as moral indignation. As theology, it has traced the hand of God in many events which can as well be attributed to the 'other gentleman.'

In the past we had the classic of History as propaganda in the works of Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay; their effort, no doubt, was unconscious and the effect imperceptible. Similarly, in the recent past, Vincent Smith tried to justify British rule through history, and Jayaswal saw in the compaigns of the Nagas an ancient precedent for the modern national upheaval.

In recent years, however, history has been unabashed propaganda. Some historians, driven by a desire—no doubt laudable—to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, have been discovering rare catholicity in the Sultans of Delhi. Even the great Shankaracharya, who taught universal pantheism and revolutionised the religious philosophical outlook as well as the intellectual structure of the country, was discovered by some to have been influenced by monotheism of the Qoran. I should not be surprised if budding historians discover primitive Communism in the *Rigveda*, and in the struggle between Rana Pratap and Akbar, a conflict between feudalism and capitalism.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

In some moments of history is compressed the progress of centuries.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

HOLI

Holi comes with the Spring. The new harvest has come in. Lovely flowers are on the trees; the tree lands echo with the joyous note of the 'Koil'. Why, amidst this outburst of new life, should man alone remain miserable, prosaic, buried under the weight of self-righteousness?

*

It is also the one day in the year when untouchability must be set aside, for the bonfire must be lit with fire brought from the house of an untouchable.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HOLIDAY

I find anchorage for the spirit in a holiday when the normal life is changed, when its tempo is slowed down, when I have ample time to find myself. Such a holiday then becomes the fresh adventure of a return to myself and of gathering, when necessary, the threads of my life or ideals or of my 'Sadhana' into my hands once more.

Such a holiday should be taken by a husband and wife together. Nothing can better repair the bonds of love and mutual understanding which have been frayed by the wear and tear of daily life.

I hate the theory propounded by some modern misanthropes or mismated partners, that a husband and wife should escape from each other by taking their holidays away from each other. The theory is hopelessly wrong. I speak from experience.

Normally, when a husband and wife go on holiday together, he wants to play or tramp or climb and she wants to dress nicely and meet interesting people. In fact, what they both want is to forget the drudgery, he of the office and she of the household; or, if they happen to be public workers, to forget their public work. They should forget for the moment that they are partners in the business of life and become lovers. No one else, except the children, should exist for them, at least for the time being.

—*Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HOLLYWOOD CULTURE

The Hollywood culture, exported to different lands, invests vulgarity and crime with a fascination too powerful to be resisted.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

HOME LIFE

There are many unfortunate women who are miserable or helpless because of maladjustment in their homes. The younger generation is increasingly being denied the love and cultural traditions which one easily acquires in a happy home and which form the foundation of a well-disciplined and creative life. Men are too busy making money, while educated women have in some way come to feel that devotion to a happy and cultured home life has no priority over public life. Cinemas and comics teach disregard for culture. Most schools have no religious background, not even an atmosphere of idealism in which noble impulses could be strengthened.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

HOOKA

Though I have never smoked a bidi, a cigarette, a cigar or even a hooka, I have always held the hooka in great respect. It is the aristocrat among the media for enjoying tobacco. There is nothing cheap, vulgar, horrid or obnoxious about it. You do not ruin the carpet by its ash; you do not puff out the smoke into other people's eyes; you do not ruin your lips by the touch of nicotine. Its beautifully delicate shape adds grace, charm and dignity to the smoker's personality; and the rythmic noise that you make when you smoke the hooka often reminds one of the music of the spheres.

—*Speech delivered at the Indian Agricultural Institute, Pusa, 11th May 1952*

HORSE

The Aryans, besides being a more virile race, had a powerful instrument of warfare in the horse. It was they who appear to have first domesticated the wild horse and used it as a living tank in war, tearing down opposing armies which operated either on foot or used only mules, asses or oxen.

In the *Rigveda*, the horse is given fulsome praise. It is the symbol of strength and vigour. The names of warriors are formed by adding the world *ashva*. There is a science of training horses; race-horses are maintained to cultivate the vigour of the breed. Dadhikravas, the divine horse, is lauded in one of the mantras.

—Foundations of Indian Culture

The Indian horse is a valuable means of transport in a vast country of uneven distances like ours. He is the inseparable companion of man in manly sport and adventure where stamina, courage and enterprise are involved, and an indispensable aid in maintaining internal peace and order and developing national defence. We require at least 600 first-class horses for the army every year; and for want of Indian horses we have to import a large number of good horses. He is invaluable for manufacturing protective sera, a priceless commodity for export. But he is neglected; the horse-breeding industry is degenerating; our good breeds have gone to Pakistan. And so far we are not only indifferent to him but we are taking steps to ruin his future.

—Inaugural Speech at the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of Veterinary College, Bombay, 25th December 1951

HOSPITALITY IN AMERICA

American hospitality has a characteristic quality. It is genial and warm. It makes you feel at home whether you have known the host for long or since the same morning.

Japanese hospitality is exquisitely courteous; the English faultlessly correct; the American bubbles over with the love of human contacts. I don't know how to characterise Indian hospitality. Has it a quality at all?

There is a charming informality about an American's behaviour to a stranger. Whether he knows you or not, he will make you feel he is interested in you and your talk—a very difficult art. He has the child's passion for being liked. I found some non-Americans critical of this warm, smiling friendliness. There is, they say, no real friendship in it. This criticism presupposes that courtesy or correctness must have genuine friendship as its basis or that they can be better substitutes for genial hospitality. We had a different experience. Behind the smiling friendliness we invariably saw a desire to be helpful. We introduced ourselves to an eminent busy doctor who, when in India, had known an Indian friend for two days. The moment we contacted him, he placed himself at our disposal; saw to it that the best medical attention was given for our check-up in his hospital, invited us to his home for lunch, and did his best to bind us in genuine friendship. This was not an exceptional case; it was representative.

—*The World We Saw*

HUMAN NATURE

Groping my way through a systematic study of social phenomena in the world, I had come to the conclusion that a total transformation of human nature was essential before peace and happiness could be established. Attempts to change the external conditions without changing men were ghastly failures. Plans which sought to alter only economic and social conditions without at the same time developing the moral and spiritual side of man were doomed to failure. Now I found scientific support for the views I held.

—*The World We Saw*

HUMAN VOICE

The human voice is something unique in its infinite capacity to express inexpressible beauty; the reed, the wind or the string can only enrich it, not replace. We don't seem to realise this.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HUMAN WELFARE

Human welfare is and ought to be the ultimate test of all doctrines, whether economic, social, moral or spiritual. Any concept of welfare based merely on the play of economic forces is therefore lop-sided; it is inadequate to achieve total welfare.

Social, cultural and spiritual values have between them as much, if not a larger, share in the welfare of an individual, as also of a nation.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

HUMILITY

Humility as a virtue has been at a discount in this noisy, jostling modern world. The more ignorant we are, the more arrogant we become. And in this age of propaganda it is very easy to accept half-truths as the last word in wisdom and thus shut the door to humility.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

HUNGER

More mouths to feed and fewer acres to supply food is a common phenomenon in history. In the past, when acres fell short of mouths, hungry men grabbed fertile lands wherever they found them. India was for long the prey of foreigners; once hungry men flocked to it from central Asia; in comparatively recent times the Portuguese, the French and the British came to India in search of food.

When Italy had three-fourths of an acre to a mouth, what happened? Mussolini quietly moved into Abyssinia. When Germany had nine-tenths of an acre to a mouth, what did she do? She let loose on the world the fearful war-hounds of 1939. When Japan had one-fourth of an acre to a mouth, she bombarded Pearl Harbour. Things have changed now. It is not easy for the hungry to march and occupy other lands. In any case the idea has never appealed to India; she does not covet another's territories; she is satisfied with the land she possesses.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

HUNGER-STRIKE

The art of hunger-strike—the genuine brand I mean—does not imply giving up food. If you have mastered the art, you would be an utter ass if you fasted. You are allowed, by the ethics of the game, to live yourself with glucose, orange juice and other such innocent body-building materials. Better still, you can ask a friend to take your place—say at midnight—while you slip away to seek nourishment. You can even take solid food, provided you are not caught in the act or taken to hospital for your weight to be checked.

Any way, it must never be forgotten that hunger-striking has nothing to do with self-purification or the fulfilment of a vow or the placating an angry deity; its object, pure and simple, is to coerce your victim by mobilising mass hysteria.

In a genuine hunger-strike it is only necessary to create the impression that you have given up food; that your condition is getting more and more critical; that you are on way to join your departed forefathers.

You need not do anything; you have just to sit tight and not appear to eat. The hysteria will develop without anyone knowing that he is attacked. The newspapers will then carry the news of your heroism on the front page in shrieking headlines; aspiring people anxious to get into the front page, will jump into the fray, praising your patriotism; your followers and friends will take out processions praising your martyrdom and shouting down your victim.

Now, I am ready to give you the definition. Hunger-strike is the art of creating an impression that you are denying yourself food, in order to coerce your victim, through the medium of mass hysteria, into doing something which he considers wrong, but which nevertheless you want him to do.

If you intimidate a person in order that he shall do something which he does not want to do, you will be guilty under the Indian Penal Code.

—City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters

One feature of this activity we must all condemn, and that is the use of hunger-strike, particularly in the field of education. Fasts, to be respected, should only be undertaken for self-purification. Unfortunately, in India, hunger-strikes have become cheap instruments of coercion—a negation of democracy—a denial of intellectual freedom.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

I. N. A. TRIAL

The trials of the I.N.A. Officers had been prompted by a belief among the British generals that unless the "traitors" were tried and punished, the loyal soldiery would feel aggrieved. In fact, the trials became for the sponsors a movement to blind folly. The British generals got nothing out of it; India, everything. Subhash Bose received an apotheosis; Capt. Shah Nawaz and his colleagues, a place in the nation's memory; Indian freedom, a new impetus and direction. The British Commander-in-Chief did the wisest thing possible in the circumstances; he bowed to public opinion and withdrew the trials.

When their sentences were remitted, the convicted I.N.A. Officers were welcomed by the country as national heroes. The Indian Army kept its foreign uniform, but foreswore foreign allegiance.

—Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters

INDEPENDENCE

Our nationalism has secured us freedom. We of the passing generation have given you its new constitution. It is for you now to give it stability. It is not an easy task. Our nationalism is not yet impregnable. Our new State suffers from inexperience and administrative inefficiency. A serious economic crisis is staring us in the face. We have not yet received that great gift of the gods—friendly neighbours. Corruption has entered deep into our body politic. Religious rivalries, narrow provincialism and linguistic division spell disruption. The cancerous growth of a pseudo-internationalism, which draws its inspiration from Soviet Communism, has been attempting to undermine our strength. You, young friends, have to fight these foes wherever and in whatever form you come across them. When we outgrow the mania for revolutionary slogans, impose on ourselves discipline of body and mind, and turn to hard and patient toil, we shall be able to give stability to our infant State, harvest the gains of our independence, and give our culture time to reintegrate itself.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,
20th November 1949

INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Do not forget that India has a role above and beyond the political role of an ordinary democratic State. It is charged by history with the mission to bring a happier world into existence, where war will be unknown, where hatred will have disappeared.

*

India continues to draw the attention of the world. For, in numbers, it is the biggest free democracy in the world; its stupendous effort to emerge from its backwardness has met with some measure of success. If India wins through, democracy in the world will have achieved its greatest triumph.

*

On many occasions India has successfully intervened to bring about friendly understanding between nations or to preserve peace. Together with other nations which have shared its outlook, India has also been responsible for beaking down the bi-polarisation of world power, which has been taken for granted by most nations since 1914.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

INDIAN ART

It is difficult for me to agree with the view of various eminent scholars that Indian Art is religious. It is neither religious in the sense in which the European Art of the middle ages was religious, nor is it secular in the modern sense of giving no more than aesthetic pleasure. If India did not look at life in compartments, nor did its art. Our forefathers viewed existence as a whole—matter, life, mind and spirit, each involved in the other, each integrated with the other in a harmonious pattern.

*

The roots of Indian Art can be traced to the paleolithic and neolithic ages. However, when we come to the chalcolithic age of about 5000 years ago, in which both stone and copper implements were in use, we find in India an art comparatively well advanced for the then age of man on earth. The culture, of which it was the expression, misnamed the Indus Valley Civilization, dominated the river valley settlements in the whole of Northern and Western India from the Punjab to Saurashtra.

It was a mature art as we find it in the two torsos of red stone and grey slate found at Harappa, the terra-cota figurines of the nude Mother Goddess with heavy bust, thin waist and rounded hips, dressed in elaborate head-dress, 'Mekhala' or the girdle and ornaments or 'Chhanavira', the characteristics which we see in the female figures in all succeeding centuries; in the bust of the fat priest clad in a painted mantle, perhaps the ancestor of the stone Yakshini; in the seals depicting Shiva as Pashupati; which are the earliest known ancestors of the Shiva icons and images which adorn a million temples in the present century.

—*Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters*

Both the literary and plastic arts of India have, for their aim, the fulfilment of one or the other of the *Purusharthas*, which must be brought into a homogeneous pattern, with the integration of the human personality as its end. In this scheme of things, nothing is omitted; even sin has a place as no more than an obstacle to be overcome.

The amorous sport of Radha and Krishna in the *Gita-Govind*, the terrifying vendetta in the Dusshasana Rudhirarpana, have as much a place in literature as the Apocalypse in the XIth Canto of the *Bhagvad-Gita* and the search for the All-pervading Consciousness in the *Brahmasutra*. Similarly, this unrestricted vision of existence is symbolised in art as much by the curving beauty of the foliage, the grace of the proud-stepping lion, as by the chaste nudity of the Yakshini, the ecstatic embrace of amorous lovers and the perfect calm of the liberated soul.

In India, Art found its home in the temple which was not only the physical core, but the soul, of the community. It was not a monastery of the ascetic, nor the fortress of the priest claiming semi-divine powers, but the home of Dharma. The shapes and forms of its sculpture and the colour on its walls only recorded the heart-beats and the spiritual aspirations of a vigorous racial life.

This meaning and significance of the temple has persisted from age to age, though its materials have changed from bamboo to wood, from wood to rock, from rock to stone, brick and marble.

When the worshipper spies the spire of the temple at a distance, he breathes a sigh of relief. The journey's end has come.

As he passes through ancient trees, or looks at the river running by, or at the lake in front, the beauty of nature uplifts his soul and the sordid world is left behind, if not forgotten. As he comes nearer, he is overwhelmed by the massive front of the temple, and then its high-springing spire. The shapes and figures of gods, men, animals and foliage on the temple walls spring before his eyes into vivid form. The varied richness of Creation is about him. Then, as he observes one figure after another and follows with interest the successive meaning of the Puranic episodes depicted on the walls, his sub-conscious mind embraces both the history and the hopes of his race. He recognises his favourite gods. His heart turns to them in thankfulness or expectation. He becomes one with them.

As he enters the temple, he is overcome by the grandeur of the inner dome. His pilgrimage culminates in the *Garbhagriha*, the inner shrine. Its coolness and fragrance, so different from the moving experience that is his, suppresses for a moment the vital movements of his body. Out of the surrounding darkness there rises before him the almost imperceptible outline of the deity as the flickering lights throw shifting shadows on it. He is overwhelmed by his own insignificance. He sees the deity, the embodied fulfilment of the aspirations which have so far remained inarticulate in him. He feels that he is in a higher world which is surcharged with divine power. He bows before the deity. He feels himself in the presence of God.

Indian Art has to be viewed as associated with the spiritual needs of the hundreds of generations the temple was intended to serve.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 15th January 1956*

INDIAN ART—THE ARTISANS

The artisan who worked under the architect also belonged to certain caste-guilds which specialised in temple-building. His skill and technique were perfected by training handed down from generation to generation. And it was the caste-guilds to which such artisans belonged that were pressed into service by the royal dynasties which were anxious to build great monuments in all parts of India. The details of the plan and technique varied from region to region, but the differences arose either because of external influences, as in the North-West of India, or on account of the local traditions, or of the deeds which had to be woven into art.

From the rise of the Harappan Culture, five thousand years ago, till the seventeenth century when it was broken, the tradition was a living inspiration, not a dead ritual; and except in those parts of the country where Hindu art came to be denied the patronage both of the courts as well as of the rich patrons, vitality was imparted by the architect or the guild, by means of a change in emphasis or shape; by a re-orientation which became necessary on account of some great ruling movement, or by the genius of some great individual artist.

Though each craftsman was no more than a link in the chain of the traditional heritage which was derived from Vishwakarma, the ancient father of art, the skill and reputation of the best of them lay in the making of an image which should be instinct with life and movement. In this creative process, he had not merely to carve a copy of an older image out of stone, but to convey to his contemporaries the significance of the life and mission of the god for whom the image stood. Even that was not enough. The image had to take the soul of the worshipper to a higher plane. The craftsman had, therefore, not only to bring out the dominant character and mood of the deity, but to symbolise a soul in action so that it could speak to the worshipper and move him to his depth, and give him the hope and solace of his life.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 15th January 1956*

INDIAN CULTURE

In the study of our Culture, this fact should never be forgotten: Indian Culture is the product of Aryo-Dravidian synthesis, ethnic, social, religious and cultural; the result of an integration of languages, values, norms and traditions of both the races and language groups, with quite substantial contributions from pre-Dravidian non-Aryans. This was the result of contact and conquest, and above all, of the influence of the *ashrams* which vigorously enveloped the seething tribes in the land living in varying stages of social and cultural development.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

India's Culture is not a dead culture. To invoke it is not to indulge in narrow revivalism; to live up to it is not to be a reactionary. It is eternal in the sense that its Central Idea has persisted through time. But it is ever fresh; the values shaped by the idea could be revitalized age after age to suit the needs of changing times.

That is why Indian Culture has undying vitality and is being re-iterated even now to meet the demands of the hour.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

Indian Culture, again, is not merely Aryan Culture but very much more, though the latter glistens like a thread of gold through many and varied elements which now go to make up our way of life. We cannot repudiate the Gandhara art because of Greek influence. We cannot disown the Taj Mahal because of its Islamic inspiration. We cannot reject the art, the manners, the institutions, which Hindu-Muslim adjustments have given birth to. We cannot even throw off the Western influences and institutions which have grown into our life. Our Culture is a living force. It absorbs alien elements when necessary but transmutes them into a new pattern of homogeneous richness. It is therefore a tremendous force of power and beauty which made us what we are in the world of today, and will make us what we want to be in the world of tomorrow.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

Indian Culture is born of the soil. All foreign solutions which do not proceed from its Central Idea are illusory. They poison the fountain source of life, destroy its strength and vitality and deny to it the living inspiration of the Message.

Materialism is foreign to Indian Culture. An exclusive devotion to material comforts in disregard of the Spirit is a denial of all that India stands for.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

Of one thing I am certain. If we have any love for Indian Culture, we should view it, not in the abstract, not only in the light of what our ancients said or did, not as if it was a stagnant pool of water, but as flowing in the stream of time. Its vitality has been shaping attitudes, disciplines and approaches to life to suit new conditions, age after age—as vigorously in the past as in the present.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963

INDIAN DELEGATIONS

When I meet members of delegations recently returned from foreign countries, I find them in a state of ecstasy over the achievements they have seen. I am afraid our Government is not fair to these men and women. No one should be allowed to go to foreign countries in a delegation, particularly to those countries where visitors are taken round in carefully conducted tours, without a six month's course of seeing what India has been doing.

Suppose one has seen the Bhakra Nangal, the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, the Tata Steel Works, the Jiyajirao Cotton Mills in Gwalior, the Ganga Canal and Pathri Electric Works in Uttar Pradesh, the Kolar Gold Mines, and the Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore; suppose one has paid a visit to the Pusa Institute at New Delhi, the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, a couple of national laboratories, the Dayalbagh at Agra, the Loreto Convent, Lucknow, and the Shanti Niketan; and suppose one has also been taken round to a few Community Projects and the Shramdan Centres in Uttar Pradesh, I am sure one might develop—unless one is a congenital slave—the faculty of keeping one's inferiority complex in restraint when one goes to a foreign country as a member of a visiting delegation.

—Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters

INDIAN HISTORY

Our whole outlook on history has to be revised. We cannot rest content with the building of our Indian history from the laudatory poems about our conquerors written by their bards. We must discover and re-state what the people of India did and thought and how they lived and reacted to foreign invasions; how they resisted all alien influences and how by such resistance they developed the vitality of their culture.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

INDIAN LEADERSHIP

Free India's present leadership is English-educated. However, its outlook is not anchored to the political ideology of any other country. More often than not, it turns for inspiration to the urges of the collective Indian mind. It tries to identify itself with the best in it. It does not look upon the masses as having to be coerced, drilled, moulded and uplifted to a new pre-concentrated pattern.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDIAN LITERATURE

India is the land of literary masters. Our contributions to the classical literatures of the world have been by no means small. Greece gave to the world the *Iliad* of Homer and the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus. Italy gave the *Aenid* of Virgil and the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. England has given *Hamlet* and *Othello* of Shakespeare; Germany *Faust* of Goethe; Fance *Les Miserables* of Hugo; and Russia, Tolsoy's *Anna Karenina*. India alone has given the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Shakuntala* of Kalidasa, the *Bhagvata* and *Ramcharita Manas*.

—*Presidential Address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Udaipur, 6th October 1945*

INDIAN RENAISSANCE

However, being human, our vision of the Mother has very often been dimmed. For instance, some months ago, it appeared as if the creative power of the Renaissance was spent; that forces of disintegration were gathering strength; that the public life was growing squalid; that the unity of the country was being undermined; that hedonism was poisoning our individual and social lives. The vigorous nationalism of the Renaissance appeared as if it was evaporating into a misty sentiment.

The sign came. The Chinese hordes flung themselves across the Thagla Ridge. Immediately, politicians ceased to squabble. Linguism lost its edge. The students and the workers were no longer querulous. Love of pleasure received a set-back. A universal upsurge swept over the country.

It was a sight for the gods to see. We have never been so united before. Few countries in the world in crises have shown such spontaneous enthusiasm to resist the invader.

In this upsurge, Indian Renaissance reached its high expression. In accepting the challenge of the greatest menace to the values we have cherished, nationalism has acquired a new dimension.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 21st July 1963*

INDIAN SOLDIER

The drama of Netaji's achievements, vividly unfolded during the I.N.A. Trial, destroyed the British myth that the Indian soldier was not capable of military leadership. What it proved beyond a doubt was that once the third party was out of the field Indian soldiers could be relied upon to secure and maintain national freedom.

—*Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDIAN TERRITORIES

In the true tradition of India, our present policies have foresworn expansion. According to the *Smritis*, Bharatvarsha is between the Himalayas and the sea. The Bharat of our present hopes is territorially restricted, but we are quite content with what we have.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDIA'S MISSION

India's travails in history have not been accidental. They are the churnings from which her Mission has been born. This Mission has a high purpose, to lead men to the wider freedom and joy of the Spirit, and to transform the collective life on earth so as to bring forth a race of men higher than ourselves.

In this process India must recapture the spiritual leadership of the world—not merely in the realm of religion, thought and philosophy, but in life, in the affairs of the world. This is what the ancient Sages taught and for this great moderns such as Sri Aurobindo and Gandhiji lived and died. We want no foreign masters to teach us alien gospels. We want no novel ideologies from far-off lands. We would not barter India's soul for any illusory gospel, however alluring. We should, therefore, acquire the freedom that knows no fear, and search for strength deep down in our Collective Unconscious built up during those ages from which our ancient wisdom springs. We should follow ways consistent with the genius of our race and, above all, be ourselves.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDUSTRIALISATION

Because of tardy industrialisation and a consequent lack of defence equipment, our idealistic approach to independence might, in conceivable circumstances, endanger freedom. But in these days of liberation movements, of arms-aid and foreign-led internal parties, no one can be sure either way as to what the results of a particular policy will be.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDUSTRIALISTS

There is nothing farther from the truth than the idea that captains of industry are miserly, selfish capitalists. Building up an industry is not just money-making, neither is its motive the lure of profits; it is creative power. Such men love passionately the game of setting up a fine organisation; it is the same love which impels others, under different circumstances, to build up a strong political party or organise a philanthropic organisation.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND RELIGION

Industrial revolution is a part of the civilization that changes from age to age. Religion embodies those fundamental values which go to the root of our being. If our religious background were not there, we as a people would disintegrate, the moral fibre of our people being destroyed by hedonism. It is a modern superstition restricted to a few in India that technological advance cannot co-exist with a religious attitude to life.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963*

INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

Rapid expansion of intensive agriculture with the aid of tractors and scientific fertilizers has its dangers too. In less than a century, under intensive cultivation by scientific means carried on in disregard of the needs of the soil, large areas in America have become deserts.

--Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

INTENSIVE STUDY

A mere mastery of the contents of a book and its intensive study are two different things. The essence of an intensive study are the analysis of its structure; a repetition and memorising of its notable passages; discussion of its merits; class exercises written and oral; and independent compositions dealing with the text. Analysis gives an insight into the structure of expression. The repetition of favourite passages forms the taste. Criticisms of passages in accordance with well-shaped canons of style lead to a habit of precision, accuracy and methodical presentation. By initiating select passages, the power of both imagination and reasoning are trained and the secret of acquiring mastery over other minds by persuasion and eloquence is acquired.

—The Creative Art of Life

INTERNAL SECURITY

An infant democracy like ours, in the face of external dangers, can only survive if there is total internal security. This is, therefore, an occasion when all people—all parties—must pledge themselves to give up or suppress disruptive tendencies, whatever may be the existing factors. The guardians of law and order should be on the alert, and should receive every sympathy and co-operation. The people as a whole should develop a sense of responsibility which would not tolerate, much less sympathise with, any internal disorder.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

We have to broaden our outlook, and, while keeping the best in our culture and in our history, we have to develop an international outlook which will enable us to understand and appreciate other points of view and other cultures.

*

Solution of all the troubles of the present day will only come when we realise the truth that humanity is one and indivisible; that there cannot be compartments in freedom, culture, or economic welfare; and that one nation cannot have too much food, while other nations have too little. Unless, therefore, we evolve one world, not only in geography, not only by aeroplanes, but in our outlook, our mind and our sympathies, we shall not be able to face the future.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

INTOLERANCE

Intolerance breeds intolerance. It broadens differences.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

JAINISM

Jainism, like Buddhism, was an offshoot of Aryan thought and religious impulse. Neither Mahavira, nor his disciples, ever claimed to teach any but an Aryan doctrine. Rebirth, the supremacy of the five great vows, the efficacy of detachment, *vairagya*, and the goal of final emancipation, *Kaivalya*, which they taught, were common to other Indian religious movements. Though Jainism did not attract a large Brahmanical following, its sadhus were often drawn from that class. About the first century of the Christian era, some of its missionaries were learned Brahmans, whose ambition was to see that their tenets acquired a place of honour among the learned in the land.

Vimala's *Paumachariyam*, written in Jain Maharashtri Prakrit, was one of a large number of attempts to alter *Ramayana* to suit the needs of the Jains. Works like *Nandisutra*, composed about the time of the Valabhi redaction, show that the religious and literary activities of Jain sadhus were influenced by the *Vedas*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, the *Puranas*, the well-known systems of philosophy, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and the *Kamasutra*.

—Gujarat and Its Literature

JAPA

Japa means the repetition of a name or a formula, undertaken as a step in developing God-mindedness or self-protection. As a first step, *Japa* steadies the mind, detaches it from the worries of the world, and leads to concentration on the meaning of the word or formula repeated. It means that with the repetition of a name or *mantra*, the mind must learn to visualise what it stands for. In this way *Japa* becomes a step towards developing *dhyana*, an essential step in *Yoga* or even in worldly self-perfection not associated with *Yoga*.

—Replies to the Reader

JAPAN

In Japan you will find the centuries cheerfully rubbing shoulders with the atomic age; ancient shrines alongside with the latest style sky-scrapers; thousand-year-old temples with modern theatres lit with picturesque neon signs; skirts with kimonos; earthquakes and recurring fires with landscape-gardens of superb beauty; parks sacred to Buddhism with a 'Miami' beach; Geisha houses of exquisite refinement with raucous, ugly night-clubs!

That is the Japanese people. The people of Japan are not shocked at misfortunes; they do not grieve over what they have lost. They take the new but never forget the old. They take things as they are and make what they can of them with solid, practical thoroughness.

—*The World We Saw*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The most fascinating characteristic of Panditji is his sense of the beautiful. His charming smile, the flower in his button-hole, the way he loves to surround himself with people of culture, all show his hunger for beauty—Beauty Absolute, as Plato envisaged. Gandhiji with his tremendous personality and dynamic gospel inaugurated an era of austere simplicity and the dominance of the useful over the beautiful. Panditji was perhaps one of the very few who came into intimate contact with him but remained untouched by the full implication of the philosophy. Though he dedicated himself to high endeavour under the guidance of his Master, the vision of Beauty has never left Panditji. He expresses it in tasteful surroundings, in a love for grace and harmony, in colour and form. His love for genuine art and literature remains undimmed. Even in the grim battle which he had been fighting since his young days, he has devoted himself to art and literature and his stray utterances on the subject reveal the passion for artistic perfection.

Panditji's sense of beauty is allied to his ideals. Perhaps they are counterparts of the same vision. An artist has been flung not only in the battle of freedom but in the vortex of power politics. This, above all others, sets him off against the murky background of modern times. His notion of beauty is not, however, of the strictly artistic variety. To him beauty is justice and justice beauty—justice, international, national, social as well as personal. Only the other day, during his impassioned broadcast on food he said: "I love flowers, but today the sight of a cluster of bananas is sweeter to my eyes than any flower."

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

Perhaps meeting crowds is a relief to him from his strenuous responsibilities. On such occasions he behaves with consummate art. He moves about briskly; shakes hands; chats freely, and scatters inimitable Jawahar smiles on all sides. Sometimes he appears ruffled. He even has outbursts of temper—at least you think so. Now and again, he plunges into the midst of an unruly crowd, and the security services are all on tenter-hooks. Of late he has developed the faculty (Napoleonic?) of investing every gesture, word or deed with a special charm which has the quality of a precious keepsake. Perhaps it is that which makes him the darling of millions.

*

Well, here is the wonder that is Panditji—an Indian 'Sarangi' played upon by western breeze. His intellectual approach appeals to the outside world, and his subconscious urges are at one with those of the Indian. He is one of the most cultured persons in our land; oddly enough, he deprecates all talk of cultural advancement. He avoids talking of the Spirit; in fact he would be scandalised if anyone called him "spiritual"; nevertheless, his life, his outlook and his idealism are of the Spirit. He lives a dedicated life; he has consecrated it to high aspirations; he is, truly, a *karma-yogi.* "All things as for God", that's the spirit, by whatever name called. But he may not use such language.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

JEWS

An extraordinary phenomenon has occurred in the world during recent times, illustrating the virility and strength of a vital culture. Before World War II, Jews lived in many countries all over the world in ghettos and in concentration camps and had for centuries been subjected to inhuman persecution and sometimes to mass murders. During World War II, sixty lakhs of them were burnt alive in Nazi camps. In spite of this savage persecution and mass massacre, they had built their life on common traditions and vivid memories of achievements of their ancestors glorified in the *Old Testament.*

Impelled by a collective will to action, these Jews migrated from 73 countries to Palestine. Inspired by the vivid memory of the 'Promised Land', given to them by Jehova three thousand years ago, these men and women—barely a million—worked, suffered, fought and died to build a new Israel. They converted deserts and swamps into a land of trees and flowers and farms and by rare heroism developed defensive might.

This provides the most brilliant example in history of the collective will generated by common tradition and common memory of achievements, ancient though they were.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

JOURNALISM

Uttar Pradesh produces a plethora of journals, mostly full of city-bred, conventional literature. We must have journals also which give pride of place to our folk-stories and such episodes from our Epics as instil the love of the Earth.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

JOURNALIST

In this profession, as in Napoleon's army, every aspirant carries a marshal's baton. Every inspiring and brilliant journalist should therefore be left free to acquire the right to earn it. Nothing, again, will be more dangerous to the profession, as well as to the country, than that the trade union spirit kills the small papers, which, more often than not, are the real voice of democracy unhampered by the strings pulled by party loyalty, high finance or patronising advisers.

The journalist world, unlike organised labour, cannot be solely regulated by the trade union spirit. The journalist is not a mere employee; his efforts cannot be measured by mechanical output. He is the member of a high and noble calling with a mission. You know how, during the last hundred years, the journalists in India—and most of our eminent men have been journalists—carried on the heroic fight for freedom. It is a chapter in history, of which not only India, but the human race, can very well be proud.

*

While the journalist has to maintain professional standards, he has also to realise the grave danger which threatens his freedom. The danger arises from two sources—from attempts by sections of the public to overwhelm the constitution, which guarantees freedom, by direct action, and secondly from the tendency to mobilise mob frenzy by playing upon popular passions.

If journalists have to be true to the noble ideals of their profession, they have to fight both the tendencies. The first danger is as much the concern of the journalist as of the Government, the legislatures and the political parties pledged to progress. But the second danger is the greater because it is more insidious.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

JUDGE

A wise judge is one who dissatisfies both the plaintiff and the defendant.

—*Food and People—Speech in Parliament*

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

I was familiar with the educational aspects of the middle class child. I knew nothing of the delinquent or destitute child till, in the course of my duties as a Minister, I became the Vice-President of the Children's Aid Society. Whenever I visit the institution of this society, I am fascinated by the raw, uncouth, human material that I find there, bubbling with hope, and yearning for love and redemption. Such children present a terrible problem. Born amid poverty and crime, they evoke pity but are a potential danger to society and civilization. They must be studied, shaped and saved, if possible. The Society is making an experiment which in India is perhaps new. But new experiments bring new difficulties to light and demand new solutions. Many parts of India have not even been awakened to the need for such efforts. Juvenile delinquency, juvenile courts and probation are yet but vague words here.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

KADAMBARI

Basking in the sunshine of imperial favour, Bana began his masterpiece *Kadambari*. It created a tremendous sensation. It blazed the trail of the new literary tradition which was to dominate India almost up to the 19th century, when the impact with the West created a new literary tradition, taste and public.

Kadambari has not met with a proper appreciation from modern scholars. The modern critic is not able to realise that Bana was composing a prose poem which was to be read out to learned audiences day after day and was to be enjoyed not only for its interest and characterisation, but for its mellifluity; for its elaborate and subtle rhetoric; for its vivid accuracy of details; for its sculptured descriptions which, like the panels of the Konarak Temple, are beautiful word pictures piled one upon the other.

It was composed for men who had the Indian background and for all those who could lose themselves in the unlimited wonderland created by a free and romantic imagination.

There is a saying in Sanskrit that the whole world was covered by Bana : *Banochhishtam jagat sarvam.* It is an admirer's estimate; at the same time, the world is not so beautifully described and in such wondrous detail anywhere else but in *Kadambari.*

—Swan Love and Other Kulapati's Letters

KALIDASA

Kalidasa is the national poet of India. He has given us the glory of India from Kailas to Kanyakumari. He has sung of her flowers, trees and picturesque scenery; of her men and women at their best. He has given us revelations, ideals, hopes, impressions and sentiments, characteristically Indian. His world presents Indian Culture at its best. Vyasa, no doubt, has a larger canvas with the vast and varied world of *Mahabharata.* But it is not one literary piece; it is a literature in itself.

Our scholars have failed us in this respect. They have vivisected Kalidasa; not re-created him for us. Years ago, I tried to portray him when I reconstructed *Devichandraguptam,* the last play by Vishakdatta; but it was not successful. Unfortunately we have not even a living picture of his characters or of the values which be contributed to our "Collective Unconscious."

None of the poets has given us so passionate and so gentle and refined a lover as the Yaksha; so lovable a sage as Kanva, completely in harmony with himself and his world; and such wonderful women like Parvati and Urvashi—and, above all, Shakuntala, a sweeter woman than whom never drew breath nor was portrayed in song or story. She is the thing of beauty—of body, of mind and of spirit— born to be honoured, loved and worshipped.

Kalidasa's is a complete world; nothing is jarring, nothing is imperfect.

—*Janu's Death and other Kulapati's Letters*

KARMA THEORY

If you believe in God, then, unless He is unjust, there must be some reason why one is born in happy circumstances and the other in poverty; why one has a noble temperament and the other a wicked; why one gets all he wants and the other fails to get them. Karma theory alone provides the appropriate explanation. The disparities are the results of our own deeds in past births.

—*Replies to the Reader*

KASHMIR ISSUE

So far as Kashmir is concerned, there is no issue to be settled except that of aggression against that State by Pakistan and the illegal and forcible occupation of a part of it by persons who, by whatever standards they are judged, have no *locus standi* in the areas they hold.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

KNOWLEDGE

The modern mind has confounded knowledge with personality. This confusion has been the 'direful spring of unnumbered woes'. In India it has turned the university graduates into waste-paper baskets of odd bits of information, unshaped in character, dwarfed in personality, devoid of faith which alone can convert knowledge into power.

—*The Bhagavad-Gita*: *An Approach*

KRISHNA, LORD

Sri Krishna was the first to become the centre of a great devotional impulse. He occupies the highest place in the Indian Pantheon; in poetry, the supreme love; in religion, he is God himself; and in philosophy, the all-pervading Over-soul, *Parabrahman*. He is the One who delivered the message of the *Bhagvad-Gita*, the most popular and profound scripture in a land of conflicting scriptures, which has inspired the life and thought of great Indians from Sankara to Tilak, Sri Aravinda and Mahatma Gandhi, among the moderns. He has fired the imagination of almost every Indian poet since the *Bhagvata* was composed (c. 8th Century). And as the very embodiment of triumphant manhood, he has brought inspiration and solace to millions for centuries.

—*Gujarat and Its Literature*

The only significance of Krishna's pranks during his infancy is to show what a naughty, lovable boy he was.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

KULA

The institution of *Kula* and the fundamental value which it represented led to derivative institutions and values. The first was the family, the little community gathered round the sacrificial fire 'like the spokes of a chariot wheel gather round the nave.' It was the elementary cell of the culture. It provided tradition and norms of conduct; it trained members from infancy to collective action, inspired by love, sacrifice and pride of parentage. In this way it became the perennial source of the stability and continuity of culture as also of its vitality.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

KULAPATI'S LETTERS

In the Bhavan's Constitution, the Sanskrit word for President is 'Kulapati'. Bhavan is a registered society and a number of institutions are bound together, so to say, by the service of its Founder-President whom some people look upon not as ordinary office-bearer. I also try to develop towards the workers, teachers and students and even the members and the readers of the journal a personal attachment. Therefore, they found the word 'President' insufficient to convey my relations with the institution. That is why they honour me as Kulapati—the head of the Ashram. As the Letters when they were first written were primarily intended for the workers, teachers and students, the Letters came to be known as Kulapati's Letters.

—*Replies to the Reader*

KUMAON

Kumaon is the land of brave soldiers, learned scholars and statesmen, of whom your townsman—Pantji—is rightly considered one of the most outstanding in modern India.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

Kumaon—Kurmachala of bygone days—is a sub-Himalayan tract with a wonderful climate, gorgeous scenery, dense forests and snow-capped mountains. Yamuna and Ganga and all their tributaries rise here. And here are Baijnath, Yamnotri, Gangotri, Badrinath, Kedarnath and the great route to Kailas and Mansarovar, the places which every true Indian yearns to visit; for to him they are heaven on earth.

And here, as I fell under the magic spell of Kurmachal, the great Shankara rose before me in all his terrible majesty. Kailas, the mighty nature-formed Linga, is his home. Mansarovar is his lake of beauty. Himalaya's daughter, Parvati, is his consort, with a special home for her at Nanda Devi; the three-forked peak, Trishul, is his weapon. He has his second home in Kedarnath. And here the Ganga falls from his matted locks in rills : Bhagirathi, Bhillaganga, Alakananda, Mandakini, Nandakini, Pindar Ganga, Dhauli Ganga, Gori Ganga and, if you will, Kali Ganga too. He is Girish for he sleeps on these snow-capped mountains. In the black clouds, scurrying in the storm, I can see His dishevelled hair flying about as He dances his *tandava*, the dance of destruction, and the thunder rolling from hill to hill is His *damaru*. He is blue-necked; for the snows are sea-blue-tinted when the setting sun colours parts of the valley crimson. And as the whirl-winds gather up the finer particles of snow, they rise in clouds of smoke as if issuing forth from the fire which Shiva has always in front of him.

And what a wonderful association of gods and men! Rishikesh, Deva Prayag, Uttar Kashi, Gupta Kashi, Nilakanth, Kedarnath, Badri Vishal, Gauri Kund, Tapovan.

Kumaon has thus been woven in the "Collective Unconscious" of India.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

LABOUR WELFARE

If industry is to be placed on an efficient basis, the welfare of labour must be kept in view. The worker needs a secure job, unaffected by trade fluctuations, as well as a living wage. He has, in his turn, to give unstinted and loyal co-operation to the industry, by working to the best of his capacity. The aim of Government is—as it should also be that of the employer and labourer—to eliminate chances of friction, so that smooth and uninterrupted running of the production machinery is ensured.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

LADY WORKERS

Nothing can help the Indian woman more than lady workers inspired by a sense of mission, for there are few women in India who work in the spirit of humility and faith, like, for instance, the Roman Catholic nuns. I have found in these nuns a passionate desire to work for delinquents, destitutes and the maimed—possibly as the result of training and tradition.

Our ordinary Indian women workers have no religious urge and no sense of mission, and, in consequence, no abiding love for the destitute and the maimed whom they serve. Their work remains an uninspired routine of a wholly professional nature.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

LAND ARMY

A Land Army, as I understand it, is a nation-wide militia, spontaneously built up, in which all adult men and women form themselves into a volunteer host of crusaders. The host will have one gospel; the gospel of the dirty hand. It will have one urge; to rebuild India by transforming the land.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

LAND TRANSFORMATION

Our life's cycle thus broken can be restored only by Land Transformation, *bhu-parivartan*. The process is one and indivisible and has an eight-fold performance : (1) to secure intensive cultivation by improved seed, manure and irrigation; (2) to reclaim waste land; (3) to develop tree-lands and forests; (4) to develop better strains in cattle; (5) to spread the Extension Movement; (6) to translate the active message and methods of Land Transformation through a Land Army; (7) to popularise nutritional food, change food habits and stop wastage; and lastly (8) to rebuild the villages from the foundation upwards.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

LANGUAGE

Language is a powerful medium through which the soul expresses itself. When it is properly used, the soul has to be in a proper trim. When we make use of accurate, effective or artistic language the soul has to go through a strenuous discipline.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

The rise of great nations and the flowering of national cultures has been associated in history with the growth of one or the other language. In ancient India the rise of the Gupta Empire and the classicism for which it stood were associated with the rise of Sanskrit as an All-India medium of power. Similarly the European Renaissance was associated with the rise of Italian, and the growth of Elizabethan England with the efflorescence of Shakesperian English. As far as I can see, the greatness of India and the reintegration of her culture in the future are, to a large extent, bound up with the growth of Hindi as a national language.

*

A language is not produced to order like long-cloth pieces in a textile mill. It grows slowly. It only grows with free use and the need of a nation to express itself through that language. This takes time.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

LANGUAGE AND UNITY OF A COUNTRY

The unity of a country is not based upon geographical contiguity, nor on a unitary administration, except under a military occupation of a foreigner. It is the product of a collective consciousness on the part of the dominant minority of the people, maintained through a common medium and a common literature.

Our national consciousness is no exception. It is the result of the collective spirit evolved during the last ten generations by men and women educated through the medium of English in British-established universities. If we fragment this university-educated minority into linguistic groups each developing its distinct chauvinism—as some of us are trying to do in some States—we will soon have several nations, not one. Then neither steel mills, nor socialistic patterns will come to our rescue.

*

First, a common language and literature for India is essential for maintaining the conscious unity of its representative dominant minority.

Secondly, this unity alone will enable such minority to be the guardian of social, national and cultural consciousness on which the collective strength of the nation is based.

Lastly, such language and literature, vigorously cultivated, are a condition precedent to vitalise India's influence in the international sphere.

—Bhavan's Journal, 19th August 1962

LASTING PEACE

Lasting peace is not possible till greater attention is paid to the spiritual development of the individual and he comes to realise emotionally the unity of living beings. The unhappy peace which prevails at present and is likely to prevail for a long time, is inspired by collective fear, not by a sense of unity.

—Replies to the Reader

LATE DINNERS

Returning to Bombay after some years in Delhi and Lucknow, I was surprised to find myself witnessing a craze for dinners at hopelessly late hours. It is equally bad in New Delhi. Why can't we, like decent people, start our dinners at 7.30 or 8.00 p.m. and go home to enjoy the company of our lawful spouses at an early hour ! We are losing the art of appreciating domestic life.

—The World We Saw

LAW—RULE OF—HOW MAINTAINED

The Declaration further recognized that the Rule of Law 'should be employed not only to safeguard and advance the civil and political rights of the individual in a free society, but also to establish social, economic and cultural conditions under which his legitimate aspirations and dignity may be realized.'

Happily for us, our Constitution embodies most of the principles embodied in the Declaration and casts upon the government, the judges and the lawyers, to use the words of the Act of Athens, 'the duty to do their utmost to uphold the Rule of Law and the rights of the individual under it.'

At the same time we must recognise that throughout the world there are trends which point to the narrowing of the area of free and democratic government. This has had the result of curtailing and in some countries even totally destroying the Rule of Law. It is therefore important to study such trends and in particular the stresses to which it is subjected in our country. Research to be of real value, therefore, should be carried on by the co-ordinated efforts of our law research centres in the functioning of the Rule of Law in the wider context of the psycho-social conditions that are developing in our country as also of the tradition and ethical convictions of our people.

As I pointed out in my address at the last year's Conference, the Rule of Law is not the rule according to a law; for a government, however despotic or hostile to human dignity, has to have some law. In fact, no single factor, whether constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights, procedural impartiality, independent judiciary, autonomous legal profession, or a freely-elected parliament, by itself can guarantee the Rule of Law. To take but one illustration, an independent judiciary and a free legal profession can certainly exist in such a manner even if their functions are restricted by statute or convention to doing nothing more than construing and interpreting laws made by a sovereign legislature or a dictator.

The Rule of Law, again, cannot necessarily be maintained even where constitutional guarantees embodied in a written constitution protect individual freedom. The guarantees could be whittled down by well-regimented majorities in a legislature; or by the executive undermining the prestige of the judiciary. But worse, they could be destroyed if certain norms of well-regulated conduct necessary to maintain it can come to be disregarded by organised public opinion in the community either by active support, or passive acquiescence; or, if the judiciary, failing to maintain a broad outlook on the values of freedom, learn to condone deviations or encroachments, however small or well-meaning, and thereby endanger guaranteed rights.

In the ultimate analysis, the Rule of Law is therefore founded on the conviction cherished by the organized public opinion of a country that it has to be maintained as a fundamental condition of a free society. This conviction, which Prof. Jullius Stone calls 'minimal ethical convictions with the community' can alone prevent the Rule of Law being disregarded.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 1st May 1960*

LAWYERS

Among certain people there is a superstition that lawyers are an unnecessary class; that they create litigation, are responsible for all difficulties in life, and obstruct people from behaving according to their own likes and dislikes. These complaints come from several classes. First there is the ordinary man who dislikes lawyers because of the general rule that ignorance hates knowledge. He thinks that, if the lawyers were eliminated, the law courts would disappear, and there would be no litigation. But he never inquires—for he has no such inquiring mind—as to what would be the ruling principle in a society in which there was no law of contract, no law of procedure, no law of evidence, and no constitution. These people forget that there is only one choice—either the rule of the lathi or the rule of law; according to their logic, the rule of the lathi is better than the rule of law. If the rule of law for which the lawyer stands were eliminated, we might revert to barbarism.

*

The equipment of the lawyer must be not only specialised but also based broadly on a larger view of human relations. General culture can alone give this view. A lawyer's functions are not confined to a specialised vocation. He has to deal with commerce, property, succession, fundamental human relations like marriage and adoption, conflict of laws, and those relations between nation and nation which are daily becoming governed by international law. This requires a study of ancient and modern literature, of history and jurisprudence, of international relations and human values. To speak from my personal experience, I have had to deal with contract and property law, with the law of the ancient Romans, Hindus and Arabs, with international law, with personal law going back to the *Vedas* and the *Sutras*, to the *Quran* and the custom of the Gonds, and with the early religious doctrines of the Fatamite Imams, the Syrian Christians and the *Bhagavad-Gita*. And, curiously enough, I have had to deal with the topographical particulars of 'Golok' where Vaishnavas go after their death, and to study the throne on which Sri Krishna sits with Radha and Lakshmi. And—from the sublime to the ridiculous—I have had to study the technique of gamblers, speculators and black-marketeers. There is, as you see, no branch of knowledge which does not help the lawyer to broaden his vision, sharpen his wits, and improve his advocacy.

—Address at the Law Society of Lucknow University,
3rd September 1950

The real lawyer—the artist of the profession—by incessant toil seeks to attain the capacity to elicit and ascertain truth and to present it with convincing incisiveness. As I said, indolence, success, love of money or comfort are the greatest enemies of the real art.

*

In pursuing that art you must never forget the true role of the lawyer in life. He is the defender of the innocent, the regulator of social relations, the vindicator of truth, and the upholder of law, on which the stability of life is based. In higher spirits he is the father confessor to whom people come in their difficulties, the judge who has to maintain the rule of law and the stability of society, and the legislator who has to give expression to the regulations which are essential for social progress.

In a free democracy like ours the lawyer has to play this role in all its aspects, and the secret of success in the role is hard work, fearless independence, and a sincere devotion to securing and maintaining justice.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

LAW TEACHER IN AMERICA

In our country, the teacher of law is only a teacher; in U.S.A. he is a counsel at large. He is consulted about how to do things before they are in the regular way. This advisory function of the American law teacher as a competent and disinterested expert is one of the most powerful forces for maintaining the legal and political system in that country.

The closest co-operation subsists between the Governments and the law faculties. To mention only a few instances. Dean Fordham in the University of Pennsylvania drafts bills and bye-laws for his State Government; deals with problems of the State and City and helps to organise local Government more rationally along the vast Eastern Seaboard. The Dean of Law in the University of Michigan, besides being a great authority on Administrative Law, specialises in Atomic Energy Legislation, and is the confidential adviser of the State Department. Another professor of eminence is consulted by the Government in all matters relating to world organisations. I found yet another specialising in space regulation. Several other teachers were busy drafting model legislations which are generally adopted by the States. Quite a a large number of them are occupied in drawing up restatements or model statutes for the American Law Institute or conducting research for the American Bar Association.

—*The World We Saw*

LEADERSHIP

In order to achieve the Highest Good the leadership of society had to be a disciplined one. Its life had to be consecrated to studying and teaching the highest wisdom, unaffected by greed or lust of power.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

It is equally imperative that the leadership should make every intelligent citizen feel that he is taking part in the national endeavour at some level or the other. And yet there is a strong feeling in the country that the people have no place in the structure of power in the country.

*

It must be realised that arbitrary powers cannot be exercised by the leadership, however well entrenched or omnipotent, in terms of what 'it thinks' as the common good. Such exercise does not evoke a sense of identification. It leaves the people cold and sullen.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

LEGAL PROFESSION

The profession of Law may be a wage-earning vocation; at the same time, it is a lofty profession which deals with the mutual relations of man and State, and the respect that the profession enjoys will be in direct proportion to the standard it maintains.

*

But above all, the quality which I want you to cultivate is independence. Independence as a lawyer; independence from the lure of money; independence from the lure of securing jobs; independence as a practitioner, unbending before judges; independence as a judge, free from all influences and maintaining the highest traditions of an independent judiciary. Nothing degrades the law as a profession so much as a practitioner accommodating himself to his client, or cringing before a court, or a judge who decides otherwise than with a strict regard for justice, or a judiciary which, even most distantly, has regards for the fears or frowns of the executive. Democracy cannot exist without justice; justice cannot exist without an independent judiciary; and there can be no independent judiciary without a fearless lawyer.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

To win success in the profession of law one needs no privilege of birth, no initial capital, no favours; nor does one need to travel by any devious path. A large section of the profession is not particular about the means that it adopts to gain a practice. That comes of easy law examinations and a poor professional tradition, but on the whole straight-forwardness and clean behaviour are the greatest assets in the profession.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

LEPROSY

Leprosy is a serious socio-medical problem, and those who have worked to relieve the world of this ugly disease have worked with surprising heroism. It is only during recent times that medical science has found means to prevent its spread otherwise than by segregation and to hold out any hope of cure to the unfortunate victims of this disease. It can now, however, be controlled not merely by segregation but by early diagnosis and treatment, and hope is given to ultimate success in banishing it from India as it has been practically banished from the Western world.

*

In cities like Bombay or at places of pilgrimage like Hardwar, you see them—hundreds of them—squatting by the roadside, appealing to the charitable instincts of those who pass by exhibiting their hideous bodies. The menace of leprosy, therefore, is a two-fold problem; a problem of treatment and a problem of rehabilitation.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

The manuscripts were collected and preserved in libraries styled *Bharati-bhandagars* or *Saraswati-bhandagars*, which were attached to temples, monasteries, palaces and even to the private houses of the rich. Poet Bana, about A.D. 620, kept his own reader and possessed a considerable private library. Hieun Tsang is said to have carried away a large number of manuscripts amounting to 657 texts to China, loaded on twenty horses. When he visited Valabhipura, about A.D. 640, it was a powerful city rich in wealth and culture and contained a large library of sacred books.

—Address delivered at the 5th All-India Library Conference, Bombay, 3rd April 1947

LIBRARY

A university without a library cannot be a home of learning.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

LITERARY ARTIST

Freedom is vital to the creative literary artist. It is the artist's only passport to self-fulfilment, and it will be an evil day for man when the literary artist has to sacrifice his freedom to suit a master. His only mistress is beauty. His only vocation is to sing of her as he sees her. Other things may be left to propaganda agents selling their literary art for lucre or safety.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

LITERARY MAN—THE CRAFT OF

Whatever the prevailing confusion, as literary men we must keep before our eyes what is wanted of us.

I have lived in the faith that the mission of the literary man is to translate his inner richness into words of beauty. This he can only do if he stands firm in it. That would require, first of all, devotion to truth in the sense of absolute sincerity; sense of sacrifice in the sense of a constant surrender to higher values; and lastly, eternal search for beauty, which comes out of a ceaseless effort to purge one's mind of grossness.

There are some literary men who, following the vogue of the day, want to re-shape the world. To them, I would remind of Pasternak's words put in the mouth of Lara when she laments over her lover Yury's bier :

> "The riddle of life, the riddle of death, the beauty of genius, the beauty of loving—that, yes, that we understood. As for such petty trifles as re-shaping the world—these things, no, thank you, they are not for us."

The craft of the literary men, as I have seen it, is to lose onself in the theme and the language. I have found that whenever I have so lost myself, I have written something worthwhile; otherwise, it becomes 'journalese.'

To quote Pasternak again :

> "The ascendancy is no longer with the artist or the state of mind which he is trying to express, but with language, his instrument of expression. Language, the home and dwelling of beauty and meaning, itself begins to think and speak for man and turns wholly into music, not in the sense of outward, audible sounds, but by virtue of the power and momentum of its inward flow...........
>
> "At such moments Yury felt that the main part of his work was not being done by him but by something which was above him and controlling him; the thought and poetry of the world as it was at that moment and as it would be in the future.

He was controlled by the next step it was to take in the order of its historical development; and he felt himself to be only the pretext and the pivot setting it in motion."

To be the instrument of something above him and controlling him—to be the *nimittamatra*—is the privilege of the creative artist.

—Bhavan's Journal, 19th August 1963

LITERATURE

True literature mirrors human experience, but not its naked vulgarity. Such experience, to become the subject of literature, must first have been born in the creative imagination and its outline harmonised into a heart-reaching universality. Next, it must be expressed in symbols—words or images—so vividly that another man's imagination is stimulated and his sense of Beauty thrilled with ecstasy.

—Sparks from the Anvil

A great country like ours cannot rest content with beauty that is borrowed or inherited. We must create great literature not only with the beauty of Kalidasa but also with the power of Aeschyles; not merely with the lyrical sweetness of Chandidas and Mira but also with the passion of Sappho, the ethereal touch of Shelley and the magic charm of Goethe; not merely the narrative vividness and human intensity of the *Mahabharata* but also the living art of story-telling of Dumas, the vibrant idealism of Victor Hugo, the power and universality of Shakespeare. Let us not forget that a considerable part of our Indian literature is cast in a conventional mould. If we want to have a great literature we must break away from it. We must search for beauty and joy in our life, rich and varied. Beauty has no national frontiers, nor has joy. Life's vast treasures are before us. We have to bring them into our literature.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,
20th November 1949

We have not abandoned the tradition of the medieval times. We still consider sentimental literature to be the best form of literary art. We cannot rid ourselves of our love of words. We cannot forget that literature must have a direct moral bearing. But the soul of pure literature is Beauty. From its every line, living personalities, realistic situations and the fundamental strength and weakness of the soul must leap out. In order to create such literature we must accept as a fundamental canon the idea that an author is free to create Beauty in any form he likes. One of the cherished beliefs in India is that a literary man is a slave of society. Even in Europe there is a fashion to contend that an author must create literature according to the mandates of the collective will. Stalin issued a mandate that literature should be written according to the Five Year Plan. He looks at the Soviet literary men as if they were workers in a factory. We hear of all kinds of control over them; that literature should be progressive, that it should devote itself to village life, that it should restrict itself to uplifting the depressed. All this deprives literary men of their independence. Such made-to-order writings are not literature, they are propaganda.

—*Presidential Address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Udaipur, 6th October 1945*

If a nation is to nourish high aspirations and its life is not to be ugly, a literature must be created, studied and enjoyed.

*

Phrase-mongering, however artistic, is not a substitute for real literature. For, in its true meaning, literature is sense and sound blended in complete harmony, and it must express one's experience—and therefore be universal—with perfect art.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

LINGUISM

Linguism is destructive of nationalism, and at this time, when the condition of India and the international situation are so uncertain, it would be risky if not dangerous to disturb the stable political and economic conditions.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

LITTLE CHILDREN

You, little children, are the heirs of the Independence which we have acquired and the independent India which we are building up will be something of which you will be proud. It is a fine thing to be a citizen of a great and free country. When you grow up, you will not know the humiliations and the trials which we went through, nor will you fully realize the great and unique struggle which India put forward to attain its freedom. This will be history to you, but this history is sure to inspire you to great and heroic deeds.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

LOCAL BODIES

Local bodies should endeavour to stand on their own feet in financial matters. It is only for long-term schemes that they should expect State Government help. In doing so, they must tap all the sources of revenue open to them under the law, ensure that all the taxes levied are promptly collected and enforce the highest possible economy, consistent with efficiency, in order not only to cut down expenditure, but to expand the services.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

LOVE

True love is self-giving and is unselfish. It is purged of egotism. Giving love, therefore, becomes an act of complete surrender in which the object of love—whether God or a human being—becomes the sole master.

Ordinary love is the selfish sentiment inspired by a desire of good for oneself. It may be love of God for getting some benefit. It may be love of a human being to secure joy and happiness.

The degraded form of desire often referred to as love which wants a member of the other sex for selfish ends can scarcely be called love.

—*Replies to the Reader*

MAGICIANS

Magicians perform tricks. They have no supernatural powers.

—*Replies to the Reader*

MAHABHARATA

Mahabharata is not a book for reference; not a mere epic; it is the Collective Unconscious of India. For over two thousand years it has given strength, inspiration, courage and, above all, continuity of life to countless people.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MALAVIYA, PANDIT MADAN MOHAN

He was the first among the great leaders of the country to take an interest in me at a time when I had just started in life and he continued to be very kind to me while he lived.

One of the noblest of men, from the mid-eighties of last century Malaviyaji served the country and its culture with unwavering steadfastness. Among other things, we owe the development and spread of modern Hindi to him as much as to Tandon. Deeply learned, but unassuming, he embodied grace, patience and passionate love for the heritage of India, such as few of his contemporaries had. He built up the Hindu University at Banaras at a time when even the idea of such a thing was unfamiliar to our people. It is a pity, indeed, that there has been no permanent memorial to this architect of modern India, nor even a decent biography recording his achievements and personality. I wonder what prevents people from naming the Hindu University after him. If anybody deserves such a memorial, it is he.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

Malaviyaji, though not an apostle of neo-Hinduism like Dayananda, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Vivekananda and Shri Aurobindo, was the living exponent, by words, deeds and life, of the best in Hindu religion. He was a product of modern education and his appeal was to the educated. He was deeply learned in the *Shastras* and his appeal was also to the orthodox. In him, the forces of the old Hinduism of the last century met the neo-Hinduism of today, as a broad, enfranchised, progressive, cultural and spiritual world force.

As an individual, he was greater still. Long, long before Gandhiji taught our leaders to give up worldly prospects for a life of service, Malaviyaji gave up everything for India's freedom and culture. Simple, frugal, perpetually living at a high tension of idealism, considerate, kind and sympathetic, he was the soul of refinement. His heart went out to everyone, irrespective of religion or race. He admired everything great and noble from whatever source it came. He inspired faith and devotion.

—Sparks from the Anvil

MANNERS

India, in the past, was well-known for its wonderful manners. I have read in one of the books by an old Englishman, how, while meeting an Indian of culture and refinement, he felt that his own manners were those of a barbarian. This morning I was reading one of the oldest books in Allahabad library—*Travel to Suratt*. Ovington writes about the courtesies of Indian life in 1689 and says that if an Indian came to Europe, he would find that it was inhabited by uncivilized persons. That was our pride. But can we say the same thing of ourselves now ?

There was a time when you stood up in the presence of your elders, you folded your hands and bent your knees in respect. Now, flashing ties, creased trousers and swaggering gait, you accost your grandfathers with a 'cheerio'. This is not culture. This is a fall from it.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

MANU SMRITI

Manu Smriti has been both the source and inspiration of the later *Dharma Shastras*, law texts, composed during a period of two thousand years. It has provided a frame-work within which numberless tribes and societies, century after century, have found a cohesive life without losing their autonomy. It has given to our social and religious life, continuity and vitality, enabling the bulk of our people to survive the catastrophe of history as a social and cultural unit. To minimise Manu's influence is to misread Indian History.

Manu Smriti even today is not a relic of a bygone age; it has moulded the minds and lives of millions, and guides them still. Our social laws, recently codified, therefore, of necessity, have had to build on the *Dharma Shastras,* changing rights and duties where the exigencies of modern life as understood by the Westernised Indian required.

Manu has also, in some way or the other, influenced the social structure and the personal laws of foreign lands like Burma, Cambodia and South-East Asian countries, even up to Indonesia, and several eminent modern authorities on social philosophy have found in *Manava Dharma* a scheme of life possessing permanent value.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

MARRIAGE

Pride of descent from a common male ancestor carried with it the need to demand unswerving loyalty of the woman married into the family. Purity of descent is inconceivable without it. Marriage, in which man and wife became one, was the most unalienable of spiritual bonds. The purpose of marriage was *grihapatya,* i.e. house-holdership, comradeship in the worship of gods, and procreation of sons to secure heaven for oneself and the *pitris.* The wife was half of oneself, *Sharirardha.* A man was complete only when he took wife and had a son. The fall of a wife was a great lapse. The gods would not forgive it. Thus was established the fundamental value of the identity of man and wife joined by the marriage tie.

These values laid the foundation of Aryan culture. Even Parashurama had to kill his mother because she looked at a Gandharva.

—*Convocation Address at Gita Vidyalaya, Bombay, 20th July 1950*

Marriage was a sacrament; the marriage of souls. Modern nations have made of it a contract, a thing which can easily be dissolved. Still worse, where the influence of the West is greatest, marriage has come to be looked upon as a means of pleasure.

Luckily in India, however, among large classes of people, the sanctity of marriage is still a cherished article of faith.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

MASS ACTION

Mass action in which men of towering personality participate has a tendency to sacrifice individual Truth for corporate strength. The motive of attachment, fear and wrath enter into such an organisation. But when a corporate effort at Satyagraha abjures the use of physical force it becomes a training ground for realising the compactness of thought, word and deed; and defiance of such corporate strength in search of one's Truth costs less than when that strength is backed by violence.

—Gandhi: The Master

MATERIAL COMFORTS

The demand for material comforts is natural and legitimate. What the world wants, and is entitled to, is a better life : more food, more clothing, better shelter, some happiness and, above all, security. But what is difficult to understand is this craving for them, without developing the spiritual values by which we can earn them—courage, tenacity and the will to render life secure, the heroism to rise above the dread of losing these things before we attained them.

—Convocation Address at the Allahabad University,
15th December 1951

MATERIALISM

This highly organised institution has its fanatic evangelist in several lands, and has aspirants wherever people wish to live without God. Every individual in every country, whatever his political colour or religious faith, who is a prey to materialism, in the shape of power, wealth or ambition, detached from an humble approach to God, is a potential recruit and is being organised by its fanatic crusaders into an 'unsacred' host.

*

Materialism is foreign to Indian Culture. An exclusive devotion to material comforts in disregard of the spirit is denial of all that India stands for.

Such devotion leads to aggressive, grabbing nationalism; to exploitation of man by man; to accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few so that the rest may lack what they need; to cults and organizations wedded to hatred and violence. These are the brood of lust and have for their aim the destruction of all that ennobles man. They arise from a denial of the spirit.

India has to stand up against the cults which harness the loyalty of the ignorant to this soulless materialism; which stimulate the desire for sectional gains and put one section of humanity against another—may be labour against capital, class against class, party against party, group against group, nation against nation—inspiring each to fight for material benefits against the others.

*

Materialism is a process by which you are asked to pass from ugly works of art and literature to ugly ideas; from ugly ideas to ugly lives; from ugly lives to absolute ugliness. And when a determined group dictates blind obedience to its policies and programme based on such ugliness, it undermines the life of the Spirit and leads men and nations to their doom.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MATHURA

From the earliest times Mathura has been a centre of Brahmavarta, the heart-land of Aryavarta; one of the Seven Cities which you must visit if you want to go to Heaven. Learning and devotion have flourished there and the best impulses in religion, thought, literature and art have gravitated to it. What Mathura felt and. sang was, within a generation, echoed by the whole country.

Mathura was also the home of a very much older Vasudeva cult to which the memories of Sri Krishana's childhood added fresh inspiration. And the cult flourished.

Mathura's reception to Buddha was not very hospitable; there were too many fierce dogs in Mathura, it is said, and it was very difficult for the Bhikkus to obtain alms. But it was a place where all religions met and flourished side by side and it also became a centre of Buddhism and Jainism. Whoever ruled there thought himself to be the guardian of India's culture.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

MAYAVADA

Mayavada or Illusionism never has had any attraction for me. I could never come to believe that the world of matter and mind is born of a gigantic illusion; if it were, suicide or escape to a cave in the Himalaya would appear to be the only honest course open.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

MEDICAL EDUCATION

I consider it a misfortune that in medical education even a subsidiary study of moral and spiritual values is ignored. The concentration on basic science is so great that spiritual values come to be scoffed at. It should not, however, be forgotten that the first essential equipment for those who handle the lives of men is humility and faith in God.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MEDICAL PROFESSION

The progress in modern scientific medicine during the last thirty years has been spectacular and it has changed the whole outlook of man on disease, age and death. At the same time, these wonderful medicines, as well as surgical miracles, require a medical profession which upholds the higest traditions of care and caution.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

MEDICAL SCIENCE

No one disputes that the modern science of medicine is highly developed, and that there are no parallels to modern surgery or to 'wonder' drugs in the history of medical science. At the same time, it would be unfortunate indeed if medical science only copied the West, to the utter neglect of that art of healing which is rooted in our soil. Ayurveda is still practised in India, and it has very eminent practitioners. It is taken advantage of by many more millions than those who receive the benefit of Western Science, and it would be unfair to the country to rule it out as quackery in the practitioner and credulity in the patient.

It must not be forgotten that all progressive movements in the world in every sphere are the result of engrafting modern knowledge and experience into older technique and practices; that if India has to develop a distinctive medical science, it will have to be rooted in the soil; and that care has to be taken to ensure that while it does not deny itself the benefits of the latest scientific discoveries, it does not spurn the benefits of what has been inherited from the past.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MINIMUM WAGES

We cannot insist on a wage increase solely on the grounds of a standard of living being low by comparison with other countries. We have to pay attention to the resources of the industry, to the possible effects on the financial stability of the country as a whole, and to the development of the moral responsibility of the wage-earner to work hard so that the power to pay more is first secured.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MINISTERS AND ADMINISTRATION

There is again a facile tendency on the part of the politician minister, if he is new to his job or too confident of his powers, to assume that he can administer a department better than his service chief. Vested with almost unlimited power, if his Government happens to be supported by an overwhelming vote in the Legislature, he very often finds it difficult to remember that at best he is the guardian and spokesman of his Government's policy, not an expert in administration. But if he undertakes the work of detailed administration without letting the services do their proper job, he is sure, out of his inexperience, to make mistakes. He will also force his service chiefs to withdraw into their shell, depriving himself of the expert skill of the services, or worse, he will convert the chiefs into flunkeys rather than partners in the implementation of his policy. In either event, he will court failure.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MIXED ECONOMY

The future of democracy in this country is to some extent bound with the mixed economy which India has for its aim.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MIRACLES

Ordinary people have faith only when they see miracles. They will believe in God provided He defies His laws and gives them exceptional favours with nepotic partiality. It is the remnant of the ancient uncivilized mind with its faith in magic.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

MODERN ART

I have no patience with the so-called modern art. It is a jumble, reflecting the confused mind of the modern artist. It not only taxes one's imagination, it stifles it and passes off ugliness as beauty.

—*Replies to the Reader*

MODERN EDUCATION

It must be admitted that fifty years of modern education have only enabled our lower instincts to project their havoc on a world-wide scale.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

Our modern scholarship, in imitation of Western scholarship, looks upon the study of Indian Culture as the study of a laboratory specimen, something dead and gone and finished which is not under an active process of re-integration.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

MONOGAMY

We want to introduce monogamy in this country. We all want it. It is the one thing which will invest women with a dignity of their own, a symbol of their equality with men, but we shall have to pay the price for it. Over large tracts in India, polygamy has an economic basis. Only a man who can support more than one wife can indulge in the luxury. The very poor are not able to maintain a wife at all, and the man who can afford to marry four wives is not going to restrict himself to one woman. The number of unattached women is therefore likely to grow.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES

Moral and spiritual values are the very essence of life. They should be inculcated in every educational system worth the name. Without them, human behaviour is rudderless. Without them, men can never decide what is false, what is ugly and what is beautiful. Without such power, you will never be able to solve the problems which you will have to face in the future.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

MORALITY

I want you to remember one lesson of History; you cannot ligislate a people into morality.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

MORAL VACUUM

The decay begins when the moral fibre is damaged beyond repair, and in the matter of the moral strength of a community it is the fibre of its dominant minority that counts. Its active faith in honesty, truth and goodness only releases positive moral pressures on individuals and on the group-mind.

Positive pressures are created by several factors. Among them are early home life based on mutual confidence and loyalty of our parents; the active goodness of our parents, brothers and sisters or friends towards each other and towards us; precepts repeatedly emphasised by those who are believed to be living up to them; and lastly, examples of men, who have lived or are living in truth and goodness at all cost, being held up for admiration.

These factors contribute to the making of the collective mind of our group which when made up with vigour, develops positive 'atmospheric pressures.' These pressures are not coercive; they are formed of group approval and disapproval. They raise expectations to which we respond by fulfilling them.

In the same way, moral fibre is weakened or destroyed by the positive pressures losing their vitality. This is due to the dominant minority losing active faith in truth and goodness, as a result of negative pressure increasing in volume and strength.

At all times, negative pressures which favour lust, crime, selfishness and violence are found in operation in every community. But in a healthy community with a virile culture, damage done to the moral fibre is repaired by the positive pressures as a continuing process. Sometimes, however, negative pressures become so powerful that a change comes over the group-mind of the dominant minority. Then the positive pressures lose their vitality. Moral decay begins.

In my earlier letters, I have already dealt with the negative pressure produced in our country by inflation and the sudden pumping in of large quantities of money out of all proportion to production. They have been responsible for destroying the moral fibre so far as honesty and austerity are concerned.

The second negative pressure is hedonism—the philosophy that pleasure is the highest good. Imported from the West, it is progressively changing our attitude towards lust, violence and fraud, which are coming to be looked upon as recognised norms of conduct, if not actually respectable.

The West, with the aid of technology, has produced two mighty instruments for releasing the negative pressure of hedonism. The first is the vast output of literature—books, journals and comics—mainly devoted to the portrayal of sex-lapse and violence. The second, far more potent in nullifying the effect of positive pressures, are the movies, most of which, unabashedly glorify the cult of lust and violence.

There are ennobling or inspiring movies too, both foreign and Indian. The bulk of the American and Indian movies, however, are of the sex-and-crime variety. It is exerting a negative pressure on the group-mind with a force unknown before. It is breaking up the moral fibre in the individual and the collective mind more than any other single factor. It is Satan's gift to this technological age.

Let us look at the powerful interests which stand for this cult as it really is. It is a huge business—both industry and trade—

interlocked nationally and internationally. Its sole object is to make money by exploiting public hunger for entertainment.

First, there is the big financing business bent on making enormous profits; it is not concerned with the effect of the wares which it helps to produce. Then there is the production industry, again organized for profit; then, the gigantic exhibition trade which runs theatres.

On these business interests have come to depend the professions of technicians, singers, musicians, painters, sculptors, and, above all, the actors, particularly the 'stars', whose talents and glamour are traded by hard-headed businessmen for profits.

This business is most powerful—in a way more powerful than most other businesses. It runs newspapers. It dominates the advertisement market. It maintains an efficient public relations machinery. It can make or mar fortunes. Its glamour boys and girls constitute charming decoys to throw an attractive veneer over its shady operations. They are also used to secure respectability for the business by establishing contacts with public men and political leaders.

It has terrific power to attract large audiences of men, women, adolescents and children through skilfully advertised faces and charms of its glamour boys and girls. As a mass media, therefore, it exercises a tremendous influence over the attitude of men for good or evil.

The movies do not merely afford entertainment as would a night-club or a strip-tease show. Its influence on outlook and action is immense. You read a book and throw it away; you attend a night-club and forget all about it, unless you are highly sex-obsessed. But, when you see a movie, you live through the experience of its characters. You participate in the motives and situations, which leave an indelible impression behind.

What then is the impress which the movies which portray sex and crime create?

Every industry has a purpose and an aim. For instance, the purpose of the soap industry is to manufacture and sell soap. Its aim is to maintain health and cleanliness through its products. If the products maintain health and cleanliness, the aim is healthy. If the soap produced by the industry does not clean but irritates or chafes the skin the aim is unhealthy.

So with the textile industry. Its aim is healthy if the cloth it produces protects and adorns. If the body is not protected nor adorned, the aim of the industry is unhealthy.

In the same way, the purpose of the cinema industry is to produce movies. Being a mass medium, its aim is threefold; to entertain, to influence the outlook and to inspire conduct. The entertainment may be ennobling or degrading. The influence may lead us to the good and the beautiful or the sordid and the ugly. The inspiration may pre-dispose a person to noble or unselfish end, or lead to selfish, cruel or hedonistic behaviour.

Anyone who knows anything about the art of advertising knows that tastes, needs and attitudes are influenced by advertisement. The influence becomes a hundred-fold more powerful when the movies are shown in glamorous colours day after day to millions and millions of people.

Unlike newspapers and radio which exercise influence mostly on public issues, the movies influence vital issues which enter deeply into personal dignity and behaviour, domestic happiness and social relations. In the mind of the public they perpetuate the image of the house-breaker, the vagabond, the woman-chaser and the uninhibited woman; of men and women preoccupied with clinging to each other in shameless attitudes in defiance of the accepted notions of social decency.

These heighten sex pruriency, degrade the values of life and surround it with a sordid atmosphere which cannot but impair human dignity.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 6th August 1962*

MOTHER TONGUE

Social intercourse and creative art were only possible through the medium of the mother tongue. Other languages were like step-mothers; they would not give form to the true vision of beauty which a literary man might have. A national language, and the bringing about of a commonwealth of literatures fell within the province of distribution, whereas creative art was a matter of production and could only be done through the medium of the mother tongue. Facility of distribution might stimulate production; and the exigencies of distribution might determine the nature of production; but the true secret of production was the richness, and fertility of soil, of the mother tongue. Whoever served his own language would truly serve the commonwealth of literature; whoever helped to build up a national language and literature, would ensure the growth of his mother tongue.

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

A mother tongue is an essential part of our being. Learning expression through a study of the literary masters who have invested the mother tongue with beauty and effectiveness is, therefore, an important step in education. An educated man is one who can speak and write his own language with accuracy and force.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

M. R. A.

Moral Re-Armament—M.R.A.—known as the Oxford group, is a world movement which hopes to restore education and life to its older values.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

MUSIC

The time has now arrived when Indian music should find a place in the curriculum of every university. It is also essential that with the disappearance of the old time patrons of music our Governments should provide for musical colleges in the country.

*

If you want the public to appreciate music today you must adopt modern ways of presentation. The modern public is more exacting; it has a greater value of time; and in its ignorance has little patience for listening to voice acrobatics.

*

Correct but lifeless music jars on my sense of the beautiful. Soulful music even out of tune or time often gives me a thrill of joy. The *rag* and *tal* are the grammar and syntax of music but correct grammar and syntax cannot make beautiful poetry nor correct *rag* and *tal* make music.

*

Music is the supreme language of emotions rarefied by intense yearning.

—Convocation Address at the Bhatkhande Sangeet Vidyapeeth, Lucknow, 7th November 1952

MYTHOLOGIES

Mythologies are not facts which can be proved in a scientific laboratory or by a syllogism. Being symbols of the innate cravings of man they exercise great influence on man and are therefore necessary for his development.

—Replies to the Reader

NAGAS

At the Kumbh the Nagas—weird unclothed sadhus—provided an element of mystery drawing men and women like magnets.

Nagas never interfere with the affairs of men; they do not seek followers nor permit anyone to touch their feet; and if these members of a pretero-historic cult were at the Kumbh it was only to go through the traditional ritual of their sect.

Foreigners were there too with their cameras, to snap the Nagas, whom they thought to be the symbol of India's degraded culture. The Westerner has very little right to quarrel with devout persons who offer worship to a Naga once in twelve years. What with his love of nudist colonies and cabarets, with his pictorial magazines full of actresses shamelessly flaunting their flesh, with his seaside resorts where mass nudity, thinly covered by swimming costumes, holds its week-end 'melas'—he should never forget that a reverential glimpse of John the Baptist is any day more ennobling than a gloating stare at the limbs of Salome.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

NAIMISHARANYA

Every Indian ought to hold the memory of Naimisharanya dear. It was this place from which radiated all the spiritual, literary and traditional influences which made India great during the past, which constitute the source of its strength in the present, and from which its future greatness will spring.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

NARADA

Narada, as I understand the conception, is the universal conscience which reminds men, in their sane moments, that their duty is to conform to Dharma, that is the Moral Order, which sustains the Universe.

—*Replies to the Reader*

NARSI MEHTA

The finest representative of *bhakti* not only in Gujarat, but in the whole area in which Western Rajasthani was spoken, was

Narsi Mehta, the saint poet of Junagadh in Saurashtra. He has left a large volume of poems and songs inspired by thrilling devotion; enriched by a prolific imagination; sometimes dominated by a vision of philosophic or moral grandeur; invariably characterised by a direct human approach full of humility and all-embracing sympathy. His well-known Bhajan, *Vaishnava Janato* was made part of the daily prayer of Mahatma Gandhi.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

NATION

A nation is not organized by unity created by geography, language or religion. It cannot be merely created by objective conditions. It can only be done by people consciously 'willing' themselves into a nation.

A nation is the product of a million wills combined in the act of living up to the idea of a great UNITY. The difference in the conce ptsbetween a country and a nation is therefore fundamental. No one can be born a nationalist; every one has to become one, by thinking, planning and willing himself into a nation. Common traditions, sufferings endured and victories won in common, names of great personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideals of the nation, and memories of group conflicts which have yielded proud triumphs, these have to come into existence before the nation-idea can be 'willed' into existence.

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

NATIONAL EMERGENCY

We cannot successfully meet a national emergency like the present one without large sections of our people developing a sense of participation in the sacred task of vacating the Chinese aggression.

*

In normal times when there is no serious threat to national existence, economic development may become, if properly planned and imaginatively implemented, a factor for creating a sense of identity. Popular response can be evoked, among other things, firstly by extending the base of political discussion; secondly by expanding consumption and thereby creating a sense of sharing in the development; and lastly, by increasing educational opportunities enabling rising generations to participate in the wider life of the community.

Things, however, are different when there is a national emergency, as at present. Such a situation requires that political power be firmly held by the Central leadership; that consumption be restricted so as to concentrate economic resources on defence preparations; that even education be re-oriented to the needs of the moment. The ordinary avenues for establishing identity consequently remain more or less closed.

At the same time, relying upon these exigencies of the moment, the leadership cannot abdicate its primary duty to foster a sense of participation in the public mind.

The need of the hour is that the Government and the governed should feel and act as one. Unfortunately, there exists a gulf between the two. What is worse, it is widening.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963*

NATIONAL GREATNESS—WHAT MAKES FOR

A new age dawned for us when the Chinese committed aggression on India in October last. The event moved every Indian worth the name to make a resolve to drive out the invader and, if need be, to suffer any hardship to achieve that purpose.

We must understand the significance of this turning point in our history, particularly in terms of the processes which go to make virile nations.

Factors like compact geographical frontiers, racial or linguistic unity, the existence of a single government, contribute to the making of a nation. But not any of them, nor all of them put together, necessarily makes a nation.

There might be geographical compactness as it was during the British rule in India, and yet no nation. There might be racial unity or unity of language as in the Arab world or in Latin America, and yet there might be different nations. We saw it during the days of the British Empire in India, and of the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary that a single government does not make a nation.

Nation is an organism born of a concept. Two things go to make it up; a rich heritage of common traditions and memories and the will to be a nation inspiring collective action.

To put it in other words, the dominant minority of a people must consciously enjoy a common heritage of traditions and be inspired by memories of collective achievements. But more. It must have the capacity to inspire collective action in the people. Then only nationalism becomes effective.

Collective tradition moulds uniformity of conduct, intercourse and outlook. It leades to a general way of life; by itself, it does not necessarily lead to nationhood.

From the beginning of the century, many of us claimed that India was a nation. Englishmen denied the fact. And they proved right. Centuries of conflict had left the Hindus and the Muslims with a legacy of mutual distrust. In mediaeval times, the Hindus treated the Muslims as Mlechhas and the Muslims treated the Hindus as Kafirs. Behind these labels, they had differing conventions, associations, standards of conduct, traditions and attitudes of life, with the result that whenever they came face to face with difficulties this divergence was not slow to express itself.

Similarly the heritage of victories won in common is an essential factor in effective nationhood. If one section of the people look upon the exploits of Rana Pratap and Shivaji with pride and another on the memories of Mohamad Ghazni and Aurangzeb with admiration no such common heritage can come into existence.

In 1857 during the Great Revolt both the Hindus and the Muslims in some parts of the country enthusiastically resisted English rule in India. However, the Muslims when they rose in revolt, in most cases, raised the green flag of Muslim domination. And Nana Saheb, when he joined it, proclaimed himself as the defender of Hinduism. The will to common nationhood was lacking.

We often find that even with a common tradition and a memory of common achievements, people fail to develop the will to collective action.

When Mohamad Ghazni invaded India, the people of the day had common traditions, a common social structure in *chaturvarnya*, common memories of the heroes of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Still, when Prithviraj Chauhan went to fight the invader, his neighbouring Hindu kings either stood away from him or took advantage of his absence to filch his territory.

A common culture by itself is not enough to make for a nation if the will to collective action is absent. An apt illustration is furnished by the conduct of the Naga Bavas at the Battle of Panipat in 1763.

For some centuries they had defended Hindu shrines in North India at the cost of their lives. But they accompanied the Nawab Wazir of Awadh, in whose pay they were, to help Ahmad Shah Abdally, the Afghan invader. The Bavas helped the Afghans to destroy the Hindu army of the Peshwas.

Only when the dead bodies of the Hindu generals killed in the battle were prepared for obsequial rites, they became culture-conscious. They got ready to protect the sanctity of the funeral pyres of the very generals whom they had helped to destroy, lest they might be contaminated by the touch of a Muslim. They had no objection to Hindus being killed with their help; they were only concerned with the purity of their dead bodies!

It is the collective will to action in face of a critical situation that is at the root of nationhood. It is entirely a modern group sentiment, perhaps the most powerful in the world today, in spite of a general development of an international outlook.

A nation comes into existence under two circumstances: first, when distinct groups of people combine under the leadership of one of them to commit aggression, as in the Franco-German War of 1870; secondly, when the different groups combine to resist a common foe.

England and France both became nations as a result of the Hundred Years War and by the resistance which they offered to each other. In the case of England, the heritage of memories was enriched by the exploits of Henry V, and in that of France, by those of Joan of Arc.

In the same way Netherlands became a nation when it resisted the supremacy of Catholic Spain.

In India the urge to nationhood came into existence only when the dominant minority educated were drawn into the current of Western nationalism and many of them were inspired by the national achievements of England, France, and Italy.

This English-educated minority was not only united in a common desire to be a nation but recaptured the inspiration of

Sanskrit and revived the memories of our glorious past by reconstructing the achievements of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Moghuls.

Dayanand restored to us our cultural self-respect through religion. Bankimchandra invested the country with the living form of the Mother Goddess. Karma Yoga, which till then signified only a performance of rituals, was accepted as implying martyrdom for one's country. Tilak gave a patriotic turn to the Hindu rituals.

The chapter of collective resistance began when Tilak was arrested in 1898; when the revolutionaries cheerfully gave up life to resist foreign rule; when Sri Aurobindo taught militant nationalism.

Then came Gandhiji. His non-violent movements led to the growth of national resistance. Self-invited martyrdom on a large scale in the cause of freedom created a new heritage of heroic memory which was enriched by the exploits of the I.N.A.

But still the common traditions and memories of these movements had not inspired the collective mind of the people as a whole. When we attained freedom, there was no collective urge. In consequence, India was divided. Pakistan became separate.

Some time back, we thought that linguism would split the country as it is, but the Chinese aggression came—a blessing in disguise. In one week, the spirit of resistance which we had never conceived, much less developed, swept over the country. Partisanship comparatively disappeared. Inter-State conflicts were shelved. Linguism lost its venom. There was only one urge, to drive out the Chinese. Such a spontaneous expression of the will to resist is a milestone in our progress.

It would be a mistake to remain under the impression that the conflict with China will be short or easy. The donations in money and gold and the demonstrations are not enough. The whole national mind must be dominated by the will to resist. It must be powerful enough to revolutionise the whole of our life.

The nation will have to emerge strong and determined. Parochial differences will have to disappear. The way of living would have to undergo a change and a military-minded people in the modern sense of the term to emerge.

National greatness is not achieved by enjoying life or delivering speeches or making elaborate Five-Year Plans unrelated to the emergency. It comes of self-imposed discipline which represses hedonism and develops readiness to live and, if necessary, to die in defence of the nation.

—Bhavan's Journal, 6th January 1963

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

I cannot imagine any other possible national language than Hindi-Hindustani. The name of Hindi-Hindustani was brought into use by Gandhiji in 1934 when he founded the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad at Nagpur. It is not a new word. Before 1892 Bhoodev Mookerji had used it. That language I consider, by its very nature, to be the national language of India.

—Presidential Address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Udaipur, 6th October 1945

The attempt to distinguish between the Hindi of North India and Hindi, the national language, is based on ignorance or on the super-confidence of a few language architects to create a new language for India. The attempt can never succeed.

Hindi is the spoken language of eighteen crores of people. Several Governments have adopted it. A dozen universities are going to make it their medium of instruction. Thousands of writers are shaping its power and richness. Tens of thousands of books are being published in it. He is a King Canute who says that the flood shall not come to other States, and that they will evolve their own Hindi.

In Gujarat, for instance, a few poets like Balashankar tried to keep alive the old Nawabi Gujarati with its Persianised words. But the 'ulfut', the 'begums' and even the 'bulbuls' disappeared; the 'prem' and 'pranayi' and the 'kokila' remain. 'Kismet' gave place to 'Vidhi'. The 'ao jao' for import and exports will go; 'yatayata' will remain. That the language of high expression in India can only be drawn primarily from Sanskrit is a truth accepted by the Constitution which no effort can shake.

—Address delivered at the All India Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Sammelan, Bombay, 23rd February 1951.

NATIONAL SECURITY

An ordinary citizen of such a State does not understand the needs, nor the complexities of national security. He loves peace and becomes an easy prey to complacency or calculated peace propaganda. This makes him prone to be unready to defend his independence. He is, on the contrary, always ready to consider security measures an economic waste, for he feels that they are not directly calculated to raise the standard of living in which alone he is interested. Those that had such notions have, therefore, to be cautious in their approach to national security.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

NATURE

The first thing I realised was that man's well-being and progress are intimately related to the soil, the sunshine, the river system, the forests and the natural surroundings of his native land. All these form the whole; their richness and strength are common. If the equilibrium of common strength is disturbed, man dies.

The Carthaginians, the Babylonians and the Egyptians of the ancient world were highly civilised in their time, but they emphasised man at the cost of nature, with the result that their over-exploited lands became deserts. Their empires disappeared; they were effaced from the earth.

—Address at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Delhi, 27th September 1951

NEGATION

The basic idea underlying our culture is to live the life of the Spirit, to reach God in this life. Curiously enough, we attain this not by a positive outlook but by a series of expanding negations. If I refuse to earn my bread and live on the generosity of others, I am a *sadhu*, 33 per cent a god. If I reject my wife and live surrounded by devotees of both sexes, I am a *tyagi*, 66 per cent divine. If one fine morning, however, I throw away the last shred of the clothes I wear, I attain godhood, 100 per cent and the devout of the earth will then fall prostrate before me. By sheer negation, I am believed to have attained positive realisation.

This provides a psychological hindrance in appreciating our culture. We cannot conceive God-mindedness, unless the garb of asceticism is there, and if once the garb is there, we assume the godly mind.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

N. C. C.

Recently, the N.C.C. and the Youth Camps have been doing good work, but if they are to succeed in re-shaping the pattern of higher education, they should be made compulsory for all students. Their activities should be so framed as to train the students into acquiring not only the values prized by the nation but a sense of mission to translate them into individual and collective life.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

NIGHT SHOWS

One of the ugly features of modern civilization is the popularity which night shows enjoy. Such popularity, as history shows, is inseparably connected with periods during which taste decays and morals wither under the pressure of material values or grim despair.

—*The World We Saw*

NIRVANA

It is neither easy to define the word 'Nirvana' nor to understand it. *Nirvana* was originally conceived as a state of desirelessness. This was a negative concept. In its positive aspect, I see little difference between *Nirvana* and *Moksha*, *Kaivalya*, *Samsiddhi* and *Matsansthan*, as conceived by the *Yogasutra* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*. It is a state in which (1) the lower instincts of desire, wrath and fear are transmuted into a wide calm; (2) the thinking mind has developed a supersensory intuitive perception; (3) the sense of right or wrong has been stabilised as Truth-Consciousness; and (4) the peace of the Soul enters unfading Joy and Beauty. To most aspirants it is an ideal to which they can only travel by strenuous efforts and slow, uncertain stages.

—*Replies to the Reader*

NOBLE LIFE

Indeed, better environments, elimination of poverty, distress and disease, and social justice exercise a healthy influence on the growth of the individual. But they cannot, by themselves, change his mental content for the better, they cannot make life nobler. These are matters for spiritual alchemy, not external conditions; otherwise every citizen of a rich and advanced country would be a saint.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

NON-COMPETITIVE SOCIETY

Dharma, in its social aspect of Manava Dharma, must so regulate society that traditions, norms of conduct and social institutions should make it easy for individuals to attain the Highest Good.

To achieve this end, society should be organised on a non-competitive basis so that the egotistic impulses resulting in untruth, greed and indulgence are progressively eliminated. The duties and functions of every class and its members should be determined having regard to their temperament and aptitudes as to regulate and finally to transmute the egotistic impulses into an urge to attain the Highest Good through progressive training in the three Fundamental Values.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

NON-VIOLENCE

There was a time when violence, advocated in speech or practised in life, particularly in the prosecution of public programmes, was considered almost a sin. Is it not a fact that this sense of ours is becoming blunted? Are we not losing our faith in the methods by which we won our freedom?

It is this sense of self-discipline which has brought us stability and strength and that enables us effectively to throw our weight in international affairs against the policies associated with power politics and old-world diplomacies.

India's voice is heard with respect by the nations of the world, because we have created the tradition of a non-violent struggle for freedom, because through discipline we have been able to maintain a stable government and because we are translating the message of Gandhiji into terms of foreign policy.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

Without a conflict, mass organisation would be impossible. The violent mass conflicts, however, indicate a mental attitude of inflicting injury upon an antagonist. The opponent must be crushed, even at the cost of one's life. When revolutionary France sought an escape from extinction, if flung itself against the armies of Europe. But if one is pledged not to inflict an injury upon another, the conflict can only take the form of resisting Untruth and Violence. Without the power of such resistance, Non-violence would be "Non-violence of conduct born of impotence."

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

The implications of this new technique are many. In the first stage the forms of struggles which inflict violence upon the other side have to be given up; one has to content oneself with inviting suffering on oneself. This would immediately purge the mind of impulsive conduct, for suffering, deliberately invited, requires a stronger will than when suffering is courted under an impulse of attachment, fear or wrath. The result of such an effort is not surrender of the other side under coercive might but only under an impressive urge created by sense of shame, sight of suffering, stirrings of the conscience, or often by public opinion rallying round the martyr and against his persecutor. Though the results of this technique are achieved by slow degrees, the resultant bitterness of the struggle is ephemeral. But the last and the most important implication of this form is that the conditions of self-control and suffering imposed by this method educate the person adopting it along the path of self-evolution more effectively than the method of violence.

—*Gandhi: The Master*

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

The instruments of non-violent resistance have added vastly to the armoury of resistance so valuable to humanity. These will be the instruments by which the weaker nations of the future will vindicate the dignity and honour of the human personality. By them alone will an individual retain his freedom in the future.

—Gandhi : The Master

NOVELIST

To the novelist, all his creations are equally lovable and all are equally disappointing, for none fulfills his idea of what it should have been.

—Wolf Boy

OBJECT OF EDUCATION

Recently I read somewhere that the modern man is an 'economic' man. But education would fail ignominiously in its objective, if it manufactured only a robot and called him an economic man, accenting the adjective 'economic' and forgetting the substantive 'man'. A university cannot afford to ignore the cultural aspects of education, whatever studies it specialises in. Science is a means, not an end, whereas culture is an end in itself. Even though you may ultimately become a scientist, a doctor, or an engineer, you must, while in college, absorb fundamental values which will make you a man of culture. An engineer has not merely to build bridges; he has to be a devoted husband, a kind father, a friendly neighbour, a dutiful citizen, and a man true to himself. He will have trials and tribulations; his heart will fail him at times; he will then need the strength which true culture alone can give.

—*Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University, 20th November 1949*

OMENS

Omens, if you believe in them, have a psychological effect on a man, and therefore on his life. If a man does not believe in them, there is no such effect. But if once you come to feel that you have come across an omen, it will strengthen your mind if you give consideration to it.

—*Replies to the Reader*

ORATORY

Oratory is not a gift with which you are born. It is a hard-won acquisition.

—*Replies to the Reader*

OUR ANCIENT CULTURE

We need not be ashamed of our ancient culture nor hesitate to emphasise its fundamental values in order to inspire our outlook on modern life. We must not forget, in the bustle of a new-found freedom, that India cannot have a powerful present or a glorious future if it loses the inspiration of its great past. Our freedom, I am sure, will not be worth anything if we forswear the *Gita* or forget the divine purpose of life that it teaches. The fabric of our life will fall to pieces if, in search of foreign approbation or breathless change, we undermine the faith, devotion and moral urge which gathers the life of our masses round our shrines and traditions.

—Address delivered at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Book University of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 20th November 1951

OVERPOWERING BIGNESS

Everything is big—growing bureaucracy, galloping technology, advancing science. Governments are big; so is business. The bigness of things has invaded literature in the shape of mass production of ephemeral values. The press is being given more and more to bigger sensations, to advertising bigger crimes and scandals, to bigger entertainment and amusement. The cinema and the novels, not to be left behind, are big with sex and violence.

We are so overpowered with this bigness that we have no patience to ponder over the dignity of character (*Satyam*), the richness of love (*Shivam*), or the beauty of a rich and fulfilled life (*Sundaram*). We have no time to develop a sense of proportion, much less to contemplate on things and deeds in their intrinsic value.

Even the Universities, which are traditional homes of discipline, are growing bigger like service-stations for the current needs of society. Eminent educationists have spoken disparagingly of the changing shape of modern education. Not unoften have they characterised the educational profession as lacking in quality, thoroughness, seriousness and integrity.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963

PANCHASILA

India's faith, however, in moral and spiritual values is unshakable. A challenge to *Panchasila* is a challenge to the mission of India and all that we stand for.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

PANCHAYATS

The introduction of the Panchayats has been a vast experiment of far-reaching value which, if successful, would broad-base our democracy.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

PARLIAMENTARIANS

If you have no enthusiasm, how can we instil enthusiasm in the rest of the country? Therefore, I appeal to you. This is not a question of scoring a debating triumph here or there. I am telling you in the interest of the country. It is this parliament which is the source of all power and authority and if you feel enthusiasm, if you have confidence in the scheme of your Government, I tell you, the whole country will take it up ultimately.

—Food and People—Speech in Parliament, 7th April 1951

The fall of democracy and the rise of dictatorship in many parts of the world in recent years was the direct outcome of the irresponsible behaviour of the parliamentarians.

—Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963

PARTY MEMBERSHIP

This is a free country. Every citizen has a free right of association. The first duty of every person is to live by his truth. And if anyone feels that the party of which he is a member has come to represent an untruth, it becomes his supreme duty to leave it. The party is an instrument of a free man; man is not an instrument of his party. That would be totalitarianism.

—Replies to the Reader

I realise that a member of a political party in power cannot act as a member of the opposition, nor play the part of an irresponsible critic. It is his duty to help his government; to increase its prestige; to help his ministers to remain in power and function effectively; to defend the measures of the government and maintain the solidarity of the party. But his primary duty is to help his party to thrash out the policies; to build up public opinion in his constituency in their support. This he can only do if he is encouraged to think on the problems of the day, to express his views frankly and to fight for their acceptance within his party.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 11th August 1957*

PAST LIFE

Many persons have claimed that they have had recollections of their past life. I have seen only one case in which a child had narrated the story of its early life, which proved true.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963*

PATEL, SARDAR VALLABHBHAI

Sardar Patel, the firmly-planted pillar of our security, stood for strength; and India has been integrating fast,—so fast indeed, that the map of India, with each new morning paper, looks like the fantastic dream of a none-too-sober student of geography!

—*Convocation Address at the University of Calcutta, 20th March 1948*

Ordinarily the Sardar is a man of very few words. He can keep silent for hours in the midst of the most exciting conversation. He never speaks for the sake of speaking. He only becomes eloquent when action is in the air. But when he does speak, it is with unrivalled eloquence. He can attack, appeal, heap ridicule; he can make his audience weep; above all, he is a master of winged words which, like shafts, pierce the heart. His language varies with the occasion and the audience. He can speak in the idiom of the villagers. The next minute he can turn out sentences in choice literary Gujarati. But his words never miss their mark.

*

It was a delightful surprise to discover a strong under-current of religious-mindedness in the matter-of-fact Sardar, whom India knows only as a pugnacious and indomitable fighter. Neither his uncanny shrewdness nor his expert knowledge of men had prevented him from acquiring a devout attitude towards Gandhiji. It was a case of voluntary self-surrender. Of him it could be said that he had obeyed the injunction of Sri Krishna : "Be thou but an instrument"—*Nimitta matram bhava Savyasachin.*

*

Samudragupta, the great emperor, was styled "the uprooter of kings;" Parashurama, the incarnation of Vishnu, was distinguished for having destroyed kings; but no one knows whether the kings whom they destroyed prayed for the long life of their destroyer. But in the case of this "uprooter of kings" (Sardar), every ruler so uprooted prayed for the destroyer's long life.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

The Sardar had unique experience of civic and public life, of the bloody riots of Ahmedabad, of the non-violent struggle of Nagpur, of political manoeuvres and the non-co-operation of Gandhiji. A seasoned warrior, he knew the weakness of the officials as well as the strength of the people. He could make men dance to his tune. His steel had passed through the fire of the alchemist and come out with a finer edge. He had the great general's discerning eye for the true and the loyal, for the traitor and the obstructionist. The art of managing men he knew, and knew well. But, much as he loved to concentrate power in his hands, he invariably submitted to Gandhiji's wishes.

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

There was a farmer's son, whom I knew. He was, however, catapulted into a vast world of politics. But he remained a farmer till the end. India, to him, was his own field. He loved it fiercely as only a farmer can; he also knew the insects and the parasites that would destroy his crop. He worked hard as only a farmer could; he loved first and foremost the tillers of the soil and he died with his hand on his plough. He had faith in his farm—the country—and in his God. This greatest of farmers fulfilled the dream which Ashoka, Samudra Gupta and Akbar had not realised. He integrated the land. And his name was Vallabhbhai Patel.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

To work under Sardar had been, for me, both a privilege and a pleasure. Above all, he was a wise and generous chief. He cheerfully put up with the shortcomings of all who helped him, and stood loyal to them in their difficulties and failures. No doubt, those who crossed him in any way, however, could scarcely look for help to Heaven itself.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

PEACE

We in India need not be taught peace movements. The Father of our Nation was the modern Prince of Peace; our Prime Minister, the greatest living apostle of democracy, is also the most effective single force for peace in the modern world. India wants peace, but it is the peace of the brave and the free, never the peace of the grave.

—*Inaugural Address at the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom, Bombay, 23rd March 1951*

PERFECTION

There are no priorities of perfection. Every little thing that you do you must try to make as perfect as you can. When the *Gita* says that *Yoga* is perfection in action, it means that whatever you do, whatever your attitude, you must try to make it perfect. If you are a student, whatever the atmosphere and whatever the teacher, try to be a perfect student. If you are a son, a brother, a wife, or a husband, it does not matter what the circumstance is, your aim must be that, so far as you are concerned, you should incessantly try to be as perfect in that character as you can be.

Perfection is very difficult to attain. After years of effort one does not become as perfect in action as one would wish to be. But the very attempt at making every piece of conduct perfect has its own reward.

What is perfection? Normally our mind runs one way; our speech is different; our conduct, entirely at variance with both. This is the normal man. Training for perfection means that all the three should first be co-ordinated, then made interdependent; lastly, they should become one compact unity.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

PERFECT MAN

Power, achievement, riches, vigour and the true view of life, when attained in the fullest and lasting measure, makes for the Perfect Man.

These are attained only in accordance with the inescapable, absolute and eternal law which governs the relations between mind and conduct in all beings in all ages and conditions.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

PERSONALITY

No success, however eminent, no riches, however unlimited, no achievement, however applauded, can make you better, nobler, more in tune with yourself, than the building up of your personality through the process of integration. You must develop your personality in the midst of life, not away from it.

—*Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,*
20th November 1949

Unfortunately, most of us try to develop our personality from without, rather than from within. Some dress their hair; others study and modify their voice, manner and appearance; yet others acquire equipment, physical or mental; all, with the object of being something more notable and effective. But personality is not the result of possessions; it is the outcome of a man becoming more of a person than others, in being a source of inner power.

—*The Bhagavad Gita : An Approach*

We view a man's life as patched-up pieces joined together as in a cinema film. We reproduce the things he did, said or wrote, but we do not study his personality. But personality is the expression, in a limited space of time, of all the life forces and dominant ideas in the man which are largely created by the Culture which is rushing forward at every moment through time.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

POLICE FORCE

The aim of the Police Force is not merely to guard the people but to guide them. I hope that the Force, as it acquires a reputation for efficiency and effectiveness, will also earn the reputation of being the friend of the people, and that, while it provides a deterrent factor to the miscreant and the law-breaker, it will ensure the safety and security of every law-abiding citizen. Duty well done is the true worship of God.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

POLITICAL AGITATION AND STUDENTS

The employment of students as instruments of political agitation—whatever merit it might have had when we were struggling for freedom—has no place in a free country with a democratic life. Such employment in these days develops, on the one hand, an attitude of general indiscipline, and, on the other, a general slackness of control over them resulting in lowering of standards.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

POLITICIAN

Politicians cannot and should not speak the language of the Saints; for, theirs is to walk in the footsteps of Statesmen; the best that they can do is to keep alive the inspirations provided in the lives of the saints.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

There is no easy or cheap way to become a politician. It is a hard, hard way.

—*Replies to the Reader*

POLITICS

Politics is an inevitable consequence of a struggle for developing progressively an ever-growing organisation in which personal ambition plays an important part. But for politics, the tribes would not have grown into a City State, or a City State into a Nation State, nor could we ever hope to have a World State.

—*Replies to the Reader*

POPULATION PROBLEM

In point of population growth, Japan and India are considered the 'problem' countries of the world. In India the population has rapidly increased since 1900. The neo-Malthusians are very anxious to find out the time when we shall all become extinct.

With Dr. Barnett, in his book *The World's Food*, I have a pertinent question to ask: "Has the consumption level in India risen or declined since 1900?" I do not know what the statisticians have to say, but I know how things were sixty years ago. Despite the growth in our population, the average man in the same stratum of society is certainly better fed today than he was then.

We are told by competent authorities that if the population increases as at present, by 1981 we shall collapse under the pressure of increased population. I am not quite so sure about this.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

POVERTY

Poverty cannot be removed merely by a redistribution of existing wealth. At the same time, we cannot aim merely at raising production; the existing inequalities must be removed too. Both processes must be followed simultaneously.

*

Plenty and poverty cannot live side by side, and if they do, that plenty cannot survive for long.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

PRAYER

Most of us have forgotten to pray at all because we are occupied with our selfish pursuits and pleasures. Even those of us who talk of Gandhiji and claim to follow him, have forgotten that which made him what he was—prayer.

Not that we do not possess a similar technique. Sri Krishna taught us *Sarva-bhuta-hite-ratah*—the love of all created things. Buddha taught us universal compassion. *Paramartha* is one of the dominant objects of a *sadhu's* life. But in trying to encompass the whole Universe in our sympathy, the sympathetic imagination, except in rare cases, is not moved as it is in a prayer for the benefit of some individual, some cause, or for greater strength, power, beauty or love. In so universalising the object of our prayer, we often fail to develop humility; our sympathetic understanding remains unstimulated and our emotions unkindled. Naturally, our will is not transformed into action.

If prayer is accompanied by faith, fervour and sincerity, it will be answered. If a prayer is offered as a matter of habit or even sanctimoniously, or even if we fail to act up to it, it is better to pray than not to pray at all. In such cases what fails us is not the intention but our weakness or ego, the ways of the flesh or habitual insincerity. But so long as we pray, some day the prayer will give us strength, sincerity and solace; it will certainly give us inspiration and bring us closer to God.

—Bhavan's Journal, 14th January 1957

Prayer purges the mind and the heart of the instinctive urges of attachment, wrath and fear, strengthens the fundamental aspirations and brings us in the presence of God.

—Replies to the Reader

If you pray to God, His grace will descend and the effect of *Karma* will be changed.

—Bhavan's Journal, 26th May 1963

PRIMARY OBLIGATIONS

The first debt we owe is to the Higher Powers, which can be repaid by offering sacrifices. The next we owe to the Sages, which can be repaid by studying the *Vedas*, that is, by preserving the continuity of knowledge and values by an appreciative study of past wisdom. Then we have to discharge our debt to our individual ancestors by offering appropriate obsequies, that is, by ritualistic observances which strengthen the stability and continuity of the family. Then comes the debt to the guests and all creatures, even the lowest, by offering them food.

These primary obligations, if duly discharged, bring the Higher Powers, the fathers of the race, our own forebears and the whole creation into a bond of unity with us. They are calculated to inculcate humility, sense of continuity of the race and the family and universal oneness with all created things.

If these obligations are not discharged, ego will remain the dominant factor in life; action will not be purged of selfishness;

sordid associations will spring up, leading us away from the Highest Good.

—Foundations of Indian Culture

PRINTING PRESS

The printing press is the intellectual counterpart of democracy. Just as every mind, no matter how confused or idiotic, has an equal vote with that of a genius or a Saint, the printing press is able to give transient permanence—if I may use such a phrase —to any written word which passes through it. But just as democracy throws up the man of ability and integrity, irrespective of rank or riches, the printing press destroys the monopoly of creative art and throws open the portals of immortality to every great effort, no matter from whom it comes.

—Address at the 5th All-India Literary Conference, Bombay, 3rd April 1942

PRIORITIES

When two things are perfect, it is stupid to discuss priorities.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

For private industry to play its part within the limits of the Plan, I realise that the existence of a financial climate in which enterprise can flourish will have to be assumed.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

PROCUREMENT OF FOOD

We have to operate through millions of small farmers most of whom are living on marginal subsistence. The result is that if they grow anything extra, they do not bring it out for procurement but keep it to themselves. Therefore you cannot tack on the results of the grow-more-food campaign with the fact that sufficient grain has not come out in procurement. In procurement you only get the surplus over and above the normal needs of the farmer. Secondly, on account of his increased staying power, the farmer retains much more than what he would have normally done. And then there is the black market and on account of the low procurement prices he sells some of his produce there. Well, these are conditions which you cannot cure by, say, a policeman's whistle or by getting a whole troop to fall upon the country and grow more food. These are factors which operate in such a way that, however much you may grow, the result is not seen in the procurement.

—*Food and People—Speech in Parliament, 7th April 1951*

PROHIBITION

In spite of the opinion which those who love to drink may hold, it has been the dire source of unnumbered woes. I am convinced that only a drinkless society can be a civilised one.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Before we criticise the expenditure for civil and security services, we have to devote sufficient thought to what it means to govern efficiently 36 crores of people in a democracy against the background of a written Constitution, as opposed to a Police State; of maintaining law and order, which is by no means an easy affair; and of the enormous administrative burdens of the Welfare State. Without a strong administrative structure, which must depend primarily on the quality of the people in it and the provision of satisfactory conditions of service, the future of the country will be fraught with danger.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

PURANAS

Literary men, for centuries, sought inspiration for subject and atmosphere from one or more of these *Puranas*. The tradition of mythic kings; the mythology connected with sacred places all over the country; stories and hymns glorifying gods and goddesses; ethics and the rituals—all this Puranic wealth had brought uniformity of belief, conduct and outlook to all who looked up to Bharata-Khanda as their land, and Dharma as the law in this life and the means of salvation for the next. It had created in the people a living sense of homogeneity and the continuity of Aryan tradition. When the Muslims overran the country, the *Puranas* became, in the hands of the Brahmins, formidable instruments to preserve religion and culture. The Puranic scheme of things had universal application. A Hindu king had a place ready in the genealogy of the Sun or the Moon. A recently elevated Brahmin had a position ready in the family of a venerable *Rishi* of Vedic antiquity. And the people had all the materials ready to bring up fresh generations in the traditions of Aryan life, to preserve integrity of society, and to resist the proselytising vigour of the foreigner.

—*Gujarat and Its Literature*

PURDAH

Women, the most coveted of possessions, were protected, treasured in families by infant marriage, and in many cases by purdah. The wife was merged in the husband, but was no longer his partner. She tended to deteriorate into a parasite; not that anyone made her so; but fleeing from the terrors of the onrushing tide of destruction, she was helplessly reduced to that position. For instance, nowhere in India today is the purdah so rigid as in Rajasthan, which for several centuries bore the brunt of the onrush and, resisting grimly, saved the social structure and cultural traditions.

—*Convocation Address at Gita Vidyalaya, Bombay,*
20th July 1950

PURPOSE OF LIFE

No one can be his true self, unless he consecrates himself thus. Most of us try to feed our personality on activities which have no organic relations with ourselves. One is in a profession when he ought to be in office; another is in business when he ought to be a professor; a third may be in a profession, in politics, in literature, when he ought to be consecrated to the salvage of culture, may be through these very activities. How many of us have a definite and divine purpose of life? If so, how many have the readiness to become but an instrument? But life is not long; our capacities are not large. We tread the path of death when we seek to pursue all paths that appear open. Our aims, our friends, our interests are of those of a dilettante. They do not look one way— *ekagra*— —as they should, if we were but His instruments.

—*Bhagvad-Gita : An Approach*

RAJAJI

Astute and subtle, he is wise, discerning and considerate. He possesses a deep spiritual fervour, which he delights in concealing under a mask of mild cynicism. There is a superficial view that he is clever and tricky; the fact is that intellectually he is superior and can see much more clearly than most people; this, the ordinary people cannot forgive. So he has been badly treated by friends and foes alike; quite often he has paid the price for his clear vision; but he has never grumbled.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

RAMACHANDRA

If there is one fascinating artist of life in history or mythology, he is Sri Ramachandra. His art was superb. It has illumined centuries, and if you read Valmiki's story of his life again and again, you will catch glimpses of this art. In his relations with his father, mother, step-mother, teacher, brothers, wife, friends and enemies and subjects he brought a sweetness, grace and purity which have no parallel in biography or fiction. He was intensely human, and beautifully so.

Sri Ramachandra's relations with Sita were wonderful, so human and so sublime; an ethereal bond which transmuted sex-relation into a thing of beauty, a beacon light to all who look to the sanctity of home as the pivot of a perfect life. The popular notion that he discarded her because a washerman criticised his conduct has no foundation in fact. First, the whole incident does not find a place in the original *Ramayana*. Secondly, when it does find a place in the later additions to the work, it is different. Sri Ramachandra put away Sita after a conflict of emotions in pursuit of an overriding duty as king to respect the wishes of his people. By this act he added the last great touch to his art of living.

A king who serves his people has no personal life of his own. The demands of public confidence are inexorable. Even modern Britain overruled her king's choice to marry the woman he loved, and removed him from the throne when he preferred private happiness to public duty.

In Sri Ramachandra's life as Valmiki has given it, every movement was inspired by the permanent values of Culture. His was the Life Beautiful, which alone brings heaven on earth.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

RAMACHARITAMANAS

Like Hanuman, he (Tulsidas) tore his heart open to find his God, and spoke of Him with exquisite art. The poet thus composed a literary masterpiece, which shares with the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Shakuntala* and the *Bhagavata*, the distinction of being among the first twenty books in the world's literature. *Ramacharita Manas* is the Scripture *par excellence* of the new upsurge in the Indian mind which kept alive vitality of Indian culture during the intervening centuries.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA

Ramakrishna was an illiterate Brahmin from an obscure village in Bengal and spent his life as an assistant priest in the temple of Kali at Dakshineshwar. In the compound of the temple, sitting in his shabby old room, he mastered violence and untruth, dishonesty and sexual impulse and the sense of possession. Greed and lust and fear and hate, the basic limitations, fell from him. He lived in God; God lived in him. He broke the barriers of selfhood and in ecstatic experience contacted Him who was in everyone and in Whom was everyone. All beings were to him manifestations of one God and he loved them in life.

He lived often in *Samadhi* and had the vision of Kali and Sri Krishna. He lived as a devout Muslim and saw the vision of the Prophet. He lived as a Christian and had the vision of Christ. In the art of life which he cultivated he realised that the masters, irrespective of race and land, had followed but one Art and no other.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

RANI OF JHANSI

The last of this galaxy was Lakshmibai, the Rani of Jhansi. Of her it is difficult to speak or write without emotion. Once she placed herself as the leader of the Revolt, she, though a Brahmin woman delicately nurtured, showed an indomitable spirit rarely given to man or woman.

Under her leadership Jhansi sturdily defied the siege of the British. Her guns never ceased firing except at night; even women were seen working at the batteries and distributing ammunition.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

REALISATION OF GOD

In pursuit of this Reality which is termed as God, the Great Vows are no more than a first step at climbing out of historical environment and the sheaths of attachment, fear and wrath which keep out its mission. Ultimately it is only by the combined result of imagination, will and emotions, He can be seen. If men prefer death to self, the way is made through the wall of imperfection and God, which is Perfection, is realised. To the extent to which a man so climbs out, does he become a Master.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

RE-BIRTH

When the Soul leaves the human body, it takes another birth. That is the doctrine of re-incarnation of the human soul, and looking to all the circumstances, that is the only one which explains good and evil and the differing capability and lot of men.

Some of our Puranas (particularly *Garuda Purana*) discuss the various worlds through which the soul passes after death before taking birth. But I believe that re-birth would be almost immediate.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd February 1958*

RECITAL

The recital, to be formative, must be in a very low voice. As one recites the work day after day, its phrases, idioms, imageries and outlook slowly work their way into his very fibre. Its high aspiration and noble purpose seize him and compel him to scale increasing heights of strength and beauty.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

RED-TAPISM

Red-tape has been enshrined in the Secretariat Code to fragment responsibility, to destroy initiative and efface personality. Under its domination no one can impart drive, vigour or speed to anything; nor need anyone exert himself more than one can help it; nor will anyone lose the chance of a sure promotion so long as he is inactive. It is because of red-tapism that the will to work is crippled.

I have also found that when officials are trusted and are confident of being protected by their Ministers they cut a great deal of 'red-tape' and achieve quick results.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

REDWOOD TREE

I planted (during *Vanamahotsava* at Almora) Redwood tree with an unpronounceable name. It was a very tiny sapling which I planted, but when it grows, it will be 110 feet round and 300 feet high; you will have to pile up the Rajabai Tower on Kutub Minar to get an idea of its height; and it will live for 4000 years! When this little plant grows into a big tree, most of our races will have become dust. All our proud schemes will have burst like bubbles. Stalin's frown, Truman's power and Nehru's peace-efforts will have been gathered into oblivion; possibly some stray research student will come across the name of Gandhiji or Sri Aurobindo in some moth-eaten record. Perhaps by then a new race will have sprung up which will have learnt to live in God–if the Atom Bomb has not destroyed us in the meantime. But the tree will be waving its leafy hands in the cold Himalayan breeze and the snow-capped Trishul and Nandi Devi will look down upon it with the same majesty as when I planted it.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

REGIONAL LANGUAGES

Nor can English or even Hindi be a substitute for the regional mother tongue; for our earliest associations are bound up with it. It is, and must remain, the natural vehicle of our experience. Disconnected from the mother tongue, a national medium ceases to be a vigorous creative force; it becomes learned in character for want of words of living experience. Regional languages, therefore, cannot be neglected—and I am sure they will not be. In course of time, however, under the influence of Sanskrit and Hindi and even English, the regional languages and literatures would develop on uniform lines and, with the aid of Hindi as the mass language of inter-regional intercourse, will learn to grow into each other.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

RELIGION

The basic truth in every religion is to rise out of sordidness and to surrender one's self to God.

—*Replies to the Reader*

In the high altitudes of genuine spirituality all religions are one. In the life and teachings of Jesus I have found the same message leading men Godward as I have found in those of the Masters in my own and other lands.

*

Let us not forget that a narrow religion, a sectarian religion, an exclusive religion—by whatever name called—can only live for a limited time and for a limited purpose. The only forces that can triumph over materialism are the religions which impress on mankind the closeness of God to man; which embrace all the possible ways in which man can approach and realize God. This is the universal religion; this, the fellowship in Christ; this, the *Sanatana Dharma*—the universal and eternal faith.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

The means of enjoying life have increased by far, but the irony of it is that at the same time happiness has not increased. The only logical conclusion possible is that an additional factor of great importance is necessary to bring happiness—that additional factor is active religion.

No great life of nobility and selflessness can be lived without an active sense of religion, for it has a purifying influence both on the individual and the society.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 9th June 1963*

RELIGION IN THE TRUE SENSE

True religion, therefore, is the expression of the central value through the medium of the whole personality of a man. This central value is not truth, beauty or love; all the three are discovered to be no more than different aspects of an all-pervasive Consciousness. As I pointed out, Plato called this value Absolute Beauty. Gandhiji called it Truth. We, humble folk, call it God.

When a man realises this all-pervasive consciousness, the state which he attains is called *mukti* or salvation, *kaivalya* or the absolute integration of the human personality, *samsiddhi* or self-realisation, *parama shanti* or the peace eternal, *nirvana* or liberation. In defining this final goal, all religions—Hinduism and Buddhism, Christianity and Islam—are one.

However, as Swift said, we have just enough religion to make us hate, not enough to make us love, one another. Just as good manners in popular language are called culture, and propaganda literature, an organisation which claims to work under the influence of a group sentiment based on a yearning towards God is called religion. But none of these is of the genuine variety.

Whatever the urge behind religion, more often than not, it becomes a close corporation raising barriers between the faithful and the infidel. In the result, the urge to Absolute Beauty is overshadowed by ugliness associated with lust of power, greed, fear or hatred.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th June 1960

RELIGIOUS BOOKS

Reading religious books is an aid to meditation. If for some reason you cannot reach the state of meditation, you may continue to read religious books.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

It is one of the tragedies of the age that religious education is not imparted in our educational institutions as vigorously as it should be done. We are rearing up a race of civilised barbarians, for whom religious aspiration is something unknown and God has no meaning. We have to take up the challenge, co-ordinate our activities and see that the rising generations are not deprived of the inspiration of religious influences.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 9th June 1963*

RELIGIOUS FAITH

Suppose we have no religious faith, how could we have survived the Turkish, the Afghan and the Moghul invasions? How otherwise would India have created the modern Renaissance, with its vast movements of the spirit, which have made modern India what she is?

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963*

REPENTANCE

Repentance accompanied by prayer purges the soul of its impurities. Once a man becomes pure, the sins drop off.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd February 1958*

REPUBLIC

The realistic Kautilya, who knew better than any political thinker in any age the secret of strength, tells us of all the devices by which a republic can be destroyed. Even Shanti Parva of the *Mahabharata,* which favours democratic states, indicates that, if a republic is to survive, the elders should be respected; secrecy of counsel should be maintained; and internal danger in particular be guarded against. A republic can be torn asunder by creating internal dissensions or corruption. How many democratic states in modern times have fallen or been undermined by the same vice! "Unity is the chief refuge of the *janas.*" No saner advice could be given to modern democracies, and more particularly to India in these days of her infant life as a republic.

—*Presidential Address at the Vaisali Festival, 7th April 1952*

RIGHT ACTION

In deciding what is right action, however, more often than not we follow a wrong track. In making such a decision we are influenced by social ambitions, a regard for our fellow-beings, or by some standard which we have inhibited or developed irrespective of the dictates of our innate nature. Our action may be induced by the imponderable atmosphere of the world we live in. It may be influenced by the journalists who write as though they were speaking for the whole world. It may be dictated by the wisdom of a master. But all these are illusory standards and make for wrong action.

Is the true test of right action the radiation of the dynamic force of our innate nature? If it is, it has to be performed regardless of what its results may be.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

RIGHT TO REPUTATION

Following the English Law of Libel and Slander as well as Defamation, which India accepted, a very elaborate procedure was introduced into our law. But in England the greatest importance is attached to the right to reputation and any infringement of it is severely frowned upon by the profession, by the jury and the judges. In India, curiously enough, we have not been able to acquire that degree of respect for the right to reputation. I have known lawyers, who, with no regard for relevance or decency, cross-examined witnesses about intimate personal matters, a thing unknown where high professional standards prevail. I have known magistrates, when a defamation case is before them, making light of defamation and almost coercing parties to accept a faint apology or a voluntary donation of five rupees for the feeding of grass to the cows. The weakness is not restricted to the lower judiciary. Even in cases where thousands of rupees are spent by a person to vindicate his right to reputation, more often than not, the plaintiff is asked to accept some kind of miserable apology, with the remark "What does it matter?" This general attitude has been largely responsible for a general decay in public morals. If the right to reputation is as sacred as the right to freedom of speech and the right to liberty, then it should be the lawyer's duty—whether a practising lawyer, magistrate or judge—to uphold the right to reputation with meticulous care and to see that the procedure of the law is not abused. Democracy and free speech cannot exist if the right to reputation is not safeguarded.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

RIGHTS *vs.* DUTIES

There is a mad clamour for rights without duties. Workers want the right to strike; they disown the duty to produce. Politicians claim the right to govern; they equally claim to be indifferent to popular approbation which selfless service alone brings. Students love to assert the right to strike, which in their case means the right to stay away from studies. In my college at Bombay they once claimed even the right to choose the principal. On the discipline and sense of duty of university students depends the future of the country. How will the country survive if it catches the infection of trade unionism and clamours for the right to play truant at will? Stern discipline should be the privilege of the next generation.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,
20th November 1949

RIOTS

One can suppress riots; one can also suppress symptoms; but that does not lead to a cure. Riots of the planned variety can only be met by a three-fold action. The first action has to be taken by the people; they must realise that resort to violence, whatever the provocation, is the road to slavery; that to adopt a passive or a critical attitude during riots, is to betray freedom.

The second action has to be taken by the guardians of Law and Order. They have to be extremely vigilant and prompt and effective in their action. To wait for riots to come before action is taken is almost to invite them. Preventive action exerting a steady pressure upon groups bent on sabotage and terrorisation is a primary duty.

The third action is to be taken by the authorities. It is their duty to nurse order, which is a delicate growth which has to be protected and reared by imagination and vigour.

—City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters

RISHI

In Vedic India, the *rishi* was not a priest; he was wholly a man whose life was dedicated, a teacher, an apostle owning allegiance to the Gods and to *Rita*. Gifts made to him were not benefactions, but tributes, for the kings were no more than representatives of *Kshatra*, the instrument to regulate social order according to the Eternal Law.

*

Though the Aryan Kings fought with the Dasyus and among themselves, the *rishi*, unhampered by the fortunes of war, lived among his pupils in an atmosphere charged with learning and righteousness. He bodied forth the message of the gods in sacred *mantras* and worshipped them through sacrifice. He taught his pupils how to perform the rituals; how to converse with the gods; how to chant the *mantras* with mystic accents; how to inspire men to follow the ordinances of *Rita*.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

RITUALS

Rituals of some sort are indispensable to religious functions. At no time was Hinduism without rituals.

—*Replies to the Reader*

RULE OF LAW

The Rule of Law is one of the most important, if not the fundamental, principle of modern social organization. For, to use the words of the United Nations Charter, it 'protects the dignity and worth of the human person.' In this, the lawyers have a special responsibility. It is the only constructive alternative to the tyrannous misuse of power and the suppression of the rights of the individual. This principle, even where it is recognised, has to be vigilantly guarded. Wherever it is not, it has to be fought for and made to prevail.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

In its relentless war with authoritarianism—in the battle of Light against Darkness—democracy is sure to win if it retains its vigour by accepting the 'rule of law' as an inalienable and active principle of life subject to the security of the state and the need for law and order, not taking it for granted, nor treating it as a matter of convenience. Also if men refuse to be hypnotised by verbal jugglery into the belief that something else can override the rule or can provide a better substitute. For, we see around us States which, in the name of welfare or some such undefined 'issue', often use such jugglery, may be unconsciously, to lull the spirit of freedom in men or enslave it by sugary slogans and innocent-looking deviations.

—*The World We Saw*

RURAL LIFE

What the country wants is well-trained, able and qualified village builders at all levels, from the primary school teacher to the research professor. They must know the sound philosophy of rural life, they must believe in rural life, and be able to sense its values and potentials. They must be able to see clearly and sympathetically, all that can go to make rural life good.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SACRED THREAD

Sacred thread is the symbol of initiation of a man into the sacred responsibility of one who wants to lead a life dedicated to Learning and Truth. The symbol may sometimes remind us as to what we ought to be and do, though in practice, in view of modern conditions, most people are insensitive to such reminders.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SADHUS

The real *sadhus* are a much-maligned folk. There are quite a large number of beggars, fakes and frauds, who masquerade as *sadhus.* Most of these were once destitute children, picked up by *sadhus* as pupils to whom this wandering existence is the only way of life. Also there are many who are *sadhus* by day and house-breakers by night. But *sadhus* worth the name are not, as is generally thought, lazy, ignorant vagrants with no purpose in life; some of them are pious people, men of learning, and possess great commonsense. They have but one objective in life; to rise to God-consciousness. Compared with their single-minded zeal to attain their self-appointed heights, the will and purpose even of a Napoleon is nothing.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

There are *sadhus* and *sadhus*, just as there are poets and poets, and politicians and politicians. I agree that there is a large section of parasites among the *sadhus.* But quite a substantial number of them, all over India, are devout and learned men. They lead a solitary life pledged to high values and try to maintain God-mindedness among our people. If the spiritual values have any meaning in life, then the men who live for those values and preach them render great service to the community. Those who cater to the moral and spiritual needs of the community are not less important than those who cater to the economic or political needs.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SALVATION OF THE WORLD

The re-assertion of the moral values in the affairs of man, which had been disregarded, if not decried, for a long time, is, to my mind, the first step in bridging the gulf between what is called the 'scientific truth' and the spiritual aspiration of man.

At the same time, a non-scientific world is moving towards the correlation of the two truths, rejecting belief and dogmas that are contrary to the facts and laws of nature and finding a much more fundamental basis for faith.

The salvation of mankind, therefore, lies in the scientist moving closer to discover the unity between the physical reality as tested by scientific methods and the fundamental aspiration expressed through conscience, love and faith, so that the discoveries of science can be handled by men morally equipped to use them.

—Bhavan's Journal, 29th January 1956

SANATANA DHARMA

Nothing pains me more than the misuse of the words *Sanatana Dharma*. To be guilty of this is to destroy the vital source of India's power. Most people who loudly claim to follow *Sanatana Dharma* do not know what it is. It is not a religion of faith nor a profession; it has to be lived. It knows no barrier between the elect or non-elect of a faith; between the children of God and His step-children. Read the *Bhagavad Gita*. "For all created things Love"—*adveshta sarva bhootanam:* that is the approach; not a pale lifeless outlook of universal indifference but a living, dynamic consciousness of oneness which runs through all men, life and matter.

The roots of this Dharma are in human nature itself. Its energy is found in the aspirations of man which lead to God.

It is for this Dharma that India lives. In weakness she will not stoop to selfish ends; in strength she does not trample on the weak. A seer once said: "She is charged to shed this eternal Light over all men." India has lived for humanity and for humanity she must be great.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

SANKARA BHAGAVATPADA

I have always stood in awesome admiration of the life and achievements of Sankara Bhagavatpada. In a short span of 32 years, he performed the miracle of driving out decadent Buddhism and purifying and co-ordinating the different cults; of re-establishing Hinduism on a firm basis; of laying the foundation of a countrywide organisation of Sanyas ashrams with Peethas at their head.

A poet, a teacher, a reformer, a philosopher with unique intellectual profundity, a *yogi* of miraculous powers, he stands unrivalled among men—a unique combination and the union, in the same person, of two qualities generally found separated—the union of the abstract and the concrete.

To him we owe the vitality which unified different religious schools and established the supremacy of *Vairagya* and *Bhakti.*

—*Bhavan's Journal, 9th June 1963*

SANSKRIT

Of all the equipment that you can hope to acquire here, nothing will be more useful than the study of Sanskrit. If you cannot read it, read the translations in English or Hindi or in any other language that you know. It will make you a member of the great spiritual community to which the greatest men of our race belonged, and give you a capacity for universal understanding. A lifelong companionship with the *Mahabharata* will give you, if nothing more, an interesting friend who will never fail you; it will lend you fresh vitality and strength; it will teach the fundamental values without which life, even in modern times, and however successful, is empty of all meaning. Without them there would have been no Ram Mohan Roy, no Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, no Malaviyaji, no Tilak and no Gandhiji. Without them, we would not have existed.

—*Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University,*
20th November 1949

SANSKRIT—ITS UNIFYING POWER

A common language, Sanskrit, and its literature have given the largest section of the Indian people, the Hindus, an unbroken continuity which Sardar Panikkar aptly describes as 'one of the marvels of history.' The makers of this unity—Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali—gave to this country in Sanskrit an unchanging national medium capable of infinite expansion in terms of content, so that the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of generations were, time and again, gathered in a common pool of Sanskrit literature and then distributed throughout the land, fertilising man's mind for over two thousand years.

I am not referring to these matters as a matter of historical disquisition. I am doing it in order to remind ourselves of the role of language and literature in the integration of a people.

—Bhavan's Journal, 19th August 1962

India attained her solidarity and cultural vitality through Sanskrit and through Sanskrit alone has she retained them. With rare exceptions, the great and the noble, those who have influenced life as a whole, have at all times in our land found self-fulfilment with the aid of Sanskrit and all that it stands for. In the recent past India, though a subject race, regained her lost prestige through scholars whose vision had been largely enriched by Sanskritic studies. The Universities of most civilised nations find both interest and inspiration in these studies. Sanskrit and closely allied Pali form the great cultural link which binds India to South-East Asia, China and Japan. Professor Norman Brown, the present Director of the Department of South-East Asian Studies of the Pennsylvania University, told me last year that students preparing to go to South-East Asia discovered that they could not understand its true spirit without a study of Sanskrit.

*

In our universities and higher educational institutions there is a growing outlook, borrowed largely from the West, that the study of a classical language is of little value. It is an outlook based on ignorance, for, to India, Sanskrit is not a classical language which merely serves to add to the accomplishments of an educated man; it is a vital link in the nation's evolution.

*

The outlook, fashionable in some Westernised sections of the people, is that a faith in Sanskrit as a vitalising force in the modern world is a sign of revivalism. Their children no longer hear from their mother's lips the Epics, which have made and preserved India. Nothing could be sadder than the fact that over sixty per cent of the candidates for the I.A.S., the prospective rulers of India, did not know of Kunti, the noble mother, or of Karna, the soul of honour and generosity.

*

To anyone who claims to have more than a superficial outlook, it should be clear that our freedom can have no meaning if India loses her soul; that we can have no future if she abandons the principal source of her strength.

I will go even further and say that the world can only be redeemed by a wiser appreciation of what Sanskrit stands for; the efficacy of Non-violence and Truth, Non-waste, Non-stealing and Non-possession, and a faith in the integration of human personality, in the supremacy of the Moral Order and in the Divine Essence in Man.

—Address delivered at the Ganganath Jha Institute, Allahabad,
15th December 1951

I hold that Sanskritic culture provides the only basic unity in this country and is necessary for our national progress. I believe in the beauty and the greatness of its literature and the necessity of drawing upon them in the development of our national language. What is more, I believe that, if we fail to maintain Sanskrit as the living inspiration of our lives, we shall lose not only the great heritage our ancestors left us, but also the leadership of the world in thought, culture and matters of the Spirit. Furthermore, the study of Sanskrit is essential in order that the Spirit of man may transform life into a noble expression of God-mindedness which is absolutely essential for the progress of the race.

*

If the *Pathshalas* and universities make a point of using the direct method in teaching Sanskrit throughout the course and of making its beautiful literature accessible to the students before the grammar and compound rules make their life miserable, the popularity of Sanskrit will grow. That is what we want—easy spoken Sanskrit, spoken as it is by many pandits, particularly in the South, with an elasticity of expression which equals that of the advanced languages of the modern world. Through that medium, it should be our aim to familiarise the country with the best in the Sanskrit language, and no other language can be better than this. Thus only will Sanskrit be kept alive.

—Convocation Address at the Bihar Sanskrit Association,
Muzaffarpur, 8th April 1952

If Sanskrit is to be preserved, it cannot be treated as a mere religious asset. Sanskrit is the store-house of all that is best in man. We have not merely to preserve Sanskrit in the old way, but we have to do what Bhagiratha did when he brought down the Ganga from Gangotri to the plains, so that ordinary man could drink its waters and our fields could be irrigated to produce plenty.

Similarly, if it is to play its proper role in the modern world, we must not only continue to study Sanskrit in the old way but we must make of it a living, spoken language which may prove a useful vehicle for modern thought and expression.

*

I want to make one thing clear: there is an erroneous idea among some protagonists of Sanskrit that it should be a national language. This idea hinders more than it helps. Hindi alone can be the national language of India. It has been accepted as a national language because its resources have been primarily drawn from Sanskrit. But Sanskrit cannot replace it.

*

A person who does not know a little of Sanskrit and something of its great message cannot claim to call himself an educated Indian.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

We should never forget that Sanskrit is the source of our inspiration—religious, moral and cultural. Unfortunately, the exigencies of modern life have driven the Government of India to evolve a three-language formula from which Sanskrit has been excluded. But, by whichever way we can, we must promote the study of Sanskrit, for it is the parent language of India.

Nothing breaks my heart more than the sight of Sanskrit being deprived of the patronage of kings, governments and rich people who have faith in religion. But this is an age of the people. People must slip in to support this life-breath of our culture.

—Bhavan's Journal, 9th June 1963

SARASWATI

Saraswati, in Vedic times, was the sacred river on the banks of which the Vedic Rishis lived and spent their life in pursuit of knowledge, devotion and self-realization. When the river disappeared, Saraswati was looked upon as the Goddess of learning. To us she is the living embodiment of purity, beauty and light. Her daily worship would lead us to keep these qualities burning bright. If modern teachers worshipped Saraswati in this spirit instead of sighing for promotions and examinership, India would be able to recapture its position as the home of knowledge.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SARVODAYA ORDER

A Sarvodaya Order presupposes the supremacy of Truth and Non-violence; the presence of God before whom all men are free and equal, entitled to all the essentials necessary to develop their personality, and, as a consequence, the absence of all exploitation of one nation or individual by another.

You cannot have landed gentry and a starving peasantry; you cannot have abundant riches and extreme poverty; you cannot have classes with differing privileges ; you cannot have castes differing in social status. If you have them, you negative the fundamentals of a Sarvodaya Order, for they imply untruth and violence.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil Vol. II*

SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is a product of Truth and Non-violence welded into one effective force.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

Satyagraha is to adhere to 'your satya' at the cost of your life. Getting arrested in the cause of freedom is Satyagraha no doubt, but only when, without the lure of power or coercion of discipline, you voluntarily court suffering to vindicate Truth as you see it. Satyagraha thus becomes the noblest discipline which enters into the smallest detail of life.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

In 1930 when I described Satyagraha as unconstitutional, Gandhiji publicly rebuked me for it. He said it was constitutional. It is constitutional in the limited sense that if I deliberately break the law, and pay the penalty prescribed for the breach, I recognize the law of the State. At the same time, in seeking to impose my will upon the State, I am in substance doing the same thing, though non-violently, that an outlaw does violently.

One difference, however, is noteworthy. When the power to impose one's will is non-violently exercised, the success depends upon mobilising the moral instincts of the people. In this way the sanction of the Satyagrahi is the support of public opinion on a large scale. In the case of the outlaw, his success is doomed for it depends upon his gathering sufficient armed force to overcome the armed might of the State which is overwhelmingly large.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

SCHOLARS

Modern scholarship is being progressively denied the vision of poets and seers. Whatever of it one sees in universities is blurred by the breath of a reasoning mind. This mind forces you to shut your eyes to everything but the physical forces and material facts of life; it enslaves the urge to discover and stand by higher values and it weakens the soul's aspiration to a higher and nobler life. More arbitrary than a tyrant, it assumes that its limitations are the farthest boundaries of the Mind and Spirit.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

SCIENCE

The brilliant progress of science has outstripped the corresponding progress of the Spirit; social sciences, unsupported by the growth of better men, have created far more problems than those they have solved. Man's faith in himself is destroyed; he is deprived of his dignity as a Divine essence and has learnt to think of himself in terms of an insect driven only by material forces.

*

Let us realise that the triumphs of the physical sciences are a means and not an end; for, if they were the final aim, it would mean the early destruction of the human race, not merely the foreclosure of man's destiny on earth. Social sciences, where they analyse social conditions, provide the diagnosis, not the cure. The cure can never be a scheme of mounting material comforts, bringing the constant fear that they may be lost; they can only lead man to increasing insectification.

—Convocation Address at the Allahabad University, 15th December 1951

Science is particularly concerned with knowledge which can be brought into practical relation with external life, and during the last two centuries it has enlarged the scope of knowledge and acquired mastery over the forces of Nature. But its triumphs have been proving dangerous in the hands of a mankind mentally and morally unready for the handling of powers so great and perilous. Science has given power, but the mind which must use the power has remained fixed and static. This we should never forget when emphasising scientific achievements. The usefulness of science is, therefore, being limited in its power and scope, for it has not been founded on an expanding view of life; it has not given man a broader vision of the goal, nor a clearer perception of the direction in which he is to proceed.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil Vol. I

Science and knowledge are valueless, nay dangerous, as we see everyday, in the hands of the man in whom the Spirit remains inarticulate.

*

If science has discovered dread weapons, it has also discovered magic drugs. It has given us material comforts and made the world narrower than a district of old times.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

SCRIPTURES

Scriptures are works which stimulate and stabilise the Fundamental Aspirations in man and draw out and develop his Divine Essence. All scriptures, properly understood, are equally great.

—Replies to the Reader

SCRIPTURE (SHASTRA)

As a first step I realise that no one can become God-minded (*man-mana*) without awakening the spirit in him. Mere thought or conduct will not suffice. If the spirit is once awakened I can draw sustenance not from desire but from the Joy which is the very substance of our existence. Then only will my egoistic nature become so transformed.

It is not easy to transform our egoistic nature. Even to begin an effort preparation is essential. It has to consist of arming ourselves with certain essential equipments. The essential equipments are four; scripture, the resolute will, the presence and faith.

The first equipment is a *shastra* or a scripture. Without its constant recital no step forward could be taken. The scripture may be any: the *Gita*, the *Bible*, the *Qoran*, the *Talmud*, the *Yogasutra*, so long as it is a source of unfailing strength. The *Gita* and the *Yogasutra* have been my scriptures.

Constant recital of the scripture—*svadhyaya*—is the preliminary lesson in *Yoga*.

All scriptures are the outcome of past experience expressed through the living Word. The final attainment—*siddhi*—depends, however, upon individual effort, guided by the real scripture, which is the eternal Truth residing in the aspirant's heart.

A scripture is only a signpost leading the aspirant to the goal. As with the aid of this signpost he travels on the path of *Yoga*, limitations, particularly those of attachment, repulsion, fear, the ego-sense, fall off. He then becomes God-minded, *Brahmabhoota*.

This unfolding of eternal Truth is rendered possible with the help of the Word. It may come by the sacred recital of a scripture; it may also come from the guru, from a hostile critic, or from within. In rare cases, it may come by the touch of God, which we call Grace.

The sacred recital of the scripture is a necessity; it cannot be dispensed with. There is nothing else that would, like the morning mist, nourish the spirit to open out to God.

The modern man, under the influence of Westernism, has failed himself because he has books to read, but no scripture to recite and unfold the Truth in him. And having lost this great source of vigour, his mind has become dried up like a withered bud. We need not, therefore, wonder at the present epoch which he has built; which Churchill rightly called "hideous".

A scripture, however great, is only a symbolic expression of the Truth which is in us. The recital will be a sterile exercise if it is not associated with experience. The recital has therefore to be accompanied by prayer, which thaws the ego-encrusted emotions and lets flow the life-giving waters.

Ultimately, therefore, the aspirant has to rise above the spoken or the written word—"above all that he has heard and has yet to hear", as Sri Krishna says—and live in experience, sincere, humble and aspiring.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 28th August 1962*

SECONDARY EDUCATION

As early as possible, secondary education should cease to be merely a stepping-stone to a degree and become an end in itself. In addition to technical, vocational or agricultural training, the basic studies at this stage should include such subjects as would enable every student to live and work as a free citizen of democratic India, with a keen sense of her past heritage and future mission.

Among the basic studies should be the study of Hindi; a general knowledge of the history, literature and culture of India; a general familiarity with Indian classical works, either through Hindi, or regional languages; the study of the struggle for Indian freedom, the present Constitution, and a background knowledge of the national movement—social, moral and religious.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SECULAR STATE

A secular state, let it be noted, is not a Godless state; for, if it were, it would be a state which lives in and on fear. A welfare state, while attempting to secure material comforts for all, can only subsist on the recognition of the normal basis of life, on the foundation of the Spirit. It can come only from the inner strength of those who support it.

Asoka was the first founder of a welfare state, not a godless state, but a state permeated by a broad-minded approach to all religions, a kingdom of God. He insisted, as his inscriptions show, that all religions were to be respected; that criticism of religion was forborne; that the divinity of all religious truths was to be recognised; that the religions of all sects were to be studied. No higher gospel of tolerance has been propounded since the dawn of the world, and no greater harm has been done than by its neglect.

And in pursuance of his tolerant policy he did not try to subvert the social order or religious belief, even in the interests of the teachings of Buddha which had so impressed him.

—Convocation Address at the Allahabad University,
15th December 1951

SELF-REALISATION

At the root of this elaborate structure is the faith that man is not a struggling worm who lives and dies and is no more. He is a divine essence with a supra-physical destiny, which he can only realise through truth, consecration and self-discipline. When he attains self-realisation, he rises above the lures of sense-experience and his personality becomes integrated.

This progress implies two inter-dependent processes; by the first, the ego is surrendered and by the second, the individual self is broadened into a universal self. This consummation is variously named self-realisation (*Samsiddhi*), emancipation (*Mukti* or *Moksha*), freedom (*Nirvana*), enlightenment (*Jnana*), bliss (*Ananda*), or the absolute integration of human personality (*Kaivalya*). The attempt to lead a life in conformity with the Cosmic Order to attain self-realisation may be termed the Highest Good.

—Foundations of Indian Culture

SELF-RESPECT

We may be economically less advanced because of being under-developed. We may be militarily backward, because we hadn't the means to equip ourselves. But so long as we have the vitality to make good that deficiency and to live for the values which we have cherished for ages, we need not be ashamed of ourselves.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963

SEX

Sex is the primary source of desire. Unregulated or uncontrolled, it becomes the source of untruth, egotism and self-indulgence. It is, therefore, harnessed to Dharma, righteous living.

The student and the unmarried woman have to be trained to live in strict celibacy. Celibacy, however, is not to be life-long, for man and woman must accept the duties and functions of householders. Married state is essential to them both.

In this scheme of things, women, as wives and mothers, have a respected place as the guardians of *Kula-Dharma*, the norms of conduct on which the unity and stability of the family rests. Their virtue is highly prized, for their fall from self-restraint is the precursor of social chaos and cultural decadence.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

SEX AND SEXUAL INTIMACY

How can spiritual urge be maintained despite drastic population control? There is only one solution—the old, old solution. Science has to be thought of in terms of man, not man in terms of science.

If, therefore, we think in terms of man not only as an animal, but a spiritual being, the solution can be found only by sublimating the sex instinct by intensive education as well as re-infusing social tradition and habits.

What is coming in the way of this sublimation is the present-day sex obsession; that has to be sternly controlled. New generations must be brought up to view sex relation as only a happy incident of a socio-spiritual union of man and wife. Sexual intimacy should not be regarded as a fleeting pleasure. It must come to be recognised as a potent solvent in which two personalities come to be fused to express themselves in rich and creative ways. *Pranaih pranan samdadhami*—'I fuse my soul into thine'—has to be the ideal actively to be pursued.

It is only in this way that we can counter the promiscuity which larg-scale birth-control is likely to give rise to. This will dissolve the conflict of differing temperaments and strengthen the institution of the family. It will be the true *brahmacharya* of the new age wherein men and women—both equal—join in a comradeship of the spirit and of physical and social intimacy.

The first step in this direction is to lift marriage out of the gutter of 'good time' comradeship into which it has fallen at present. We must come to look upon it as a sort of sacrament inviolable except in dire necessity. It must be based on love, re-sanctified as an abiding living force in life.

As things are at present, there will be many who will be foolish enough not to realise the wisdom of this course. However, if birth-control, 'good time' marriage and sex obsession go hand in hand, marriage will lose its sanctity; the foundations of life would be sapped; the family life will no longer be the training ground of duty, love and altruism. Social bonds will snap. The life of the Spirit will end.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 15th November 1959*

SHEEP AND GOAT

Sheep and goats largely contribute to our problem of erosion through wind and water. The marching menace of the Rajasthan desert is, as you know, partly wind-made and partly goat-made. The goats destroy every vestige of vegetation long before it can flourish to enrich the soil. If you choose sheep and goats, you choose erosion and destruction; if you choose cattle, you serve the soil and win prosperity. Also if you choose goats and sheep and allow the cattle to deteriorate and become diseased, you choose the certain road to early doom.

—*Speech at the First Indian Co-operative Conference,*
Bombay, 25th February 1952

SHIVALINGA

Worship of Shivalinga has evoked the purest and the most precious impulses in religion, literature and art. Out of millions and millions who worshipped this 'living God' in a million shrines during the last many centuries, none ever dreamt that what they worshipped was anything but God till, of course, a few Western scholars mixed it up with the phallic worship in Greek religious orgies. Shiva is worshipped in the formless symbol as the Supreme God of power and beneficence.

—*Address delivered at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Book*
University of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay,
20th October 1951

SHIVA-SHAKTI WORSHIP

The worship of Shiva and His consort Shakti dates from prehistoric times and is today the basic layer of religious belief in India. It has varying strata from the most terrific or obscure rituals, confined to fast decaying cults, to aspiring philosophic concepts, noble traditions of universal welfare and the most human of social urges.

—*Somnath : The Shrine Eternal*

SHRINES

I am attracted to our shrines because I love the motherland; not in the way of an economist; not merely as one who is attracted to his country. India to me is the Mother. I hold every inch of our land in affection. Whenever I visit a spot, a river, a mountain, with which heroic or sacred memories are associated, my heart glows with pride. The beauty of every scene and sight in our towns or our countryside has an irresistible lure for me. Every folk-song or dance moves me. Behind our way of life I see a special destiny working. And my heart goes out to my people not in the way of a philanthropist, but in the way of an ardent lover.

Now you will perhaps be able to appreciate my attitude towards ancient shrines. When I visit one of them, I see not the brick and the mortar, nor the stone image, nor the mercenary worshipper; but the traditions which have grown around it become living to me. The hope, devotion and faith which millions have offered at the shrine for centuries become mine for the moment, and the memory of our forefathers who found solace and strength by worshipping at a shrine, gives me some inspiration.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

SIKH COMMUNITY

The Sikhs are few; 46 lakhs in this country of 40 crores. But they form the best organised group in the country, with a well-knit life, a simple faith and a heroic tradition.

*

One of the greatest tragedies of modern India is the mutual distrust between the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Why it should be so was difficult for a stranger like me to understand. I did not find Sikhs different from the Punjabi Hindus, except in externals. The *Granth Saheb* is Hindu to the core. The Khalsa was the bulwark of Hinduism in the North. Its veneration for the cow is greater than that of any sect of Hindus. There are intermarriages between Hindus and Sikhs. Their fortunes are flung together to-day and will remain so in the future. The fundamental identity of the two would lead to a permanent understanding, if a determined attempt were made.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

The Sikh community is virile, tenacious and enterprising. Their enterprise has been notable in many spheres of life. Sikhs have been very good agriculturists, craftsmen, businessmen and, of course, soldiers. It is a comparatively small community, but it is compact.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SILENCE

Real action is in silent moments. The epochs of our life are not in the visible facts of existence like calling, marriage, acquisition of office, but in a silent thought by the wayside, in a lonely thought which reshapes our entire outlook on life with freshness, as never in society.

—*The Bhagavad-Gita : An Approach*

SILENT MIND

The prospect of a silent mind is usually horrifying to man. He is afraid that if his mind becomes silent he will be flung into an abyss full of mysterious terror. He would prefer to visit a graveyard where ghosts walk at midnight or to rush headlong into battle and woo death, rather than to silence his mind.

The fear of the silent mind in normal persons is quite genuine. We are afraid that such silence would make life appear empty and that we ourselves would be made to feel like shadows.

When this preliminary fear is conquered the mind learns to keep silence for perhaps a few moments at a time, but when once the mind develops this silence, aspirations begin to appear in their real strength.

—*City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters*

SLAVE

One who stands in admiration of others and does not know his own strength on dignity is a slave.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

SMOKING

I am not a cigarette smoker. I would not like anyone to smoke a cigarette or a cigar. But why can cigarette not co-exist with culture ? Have we not seen some of the most cultured people in modern times enjoying a smoke ? We must not confound culture with asceticism.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SOCIAL CONTROL

The social control, necessary for man's survival, is not an end in itself. Its purpose should be to facilitate self-expression, to stabilise the Fundamental Aspirations and to lead man towards God. Society should therefore provide just sufficient control to secure orderly life while allowing enough freedom to permit of the free play of the intellect and the fearless pursuit of Fundamental Aspirations.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY

It is no doubt difficult to define the attributes of a "Socialistic Pattern of Society" rigidly; but of any such pattern, the underlying idea is to narrow down the economic differences between individuals.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

The expression 'Socialistic Pattern of Society', as used in reference to India, has to be understood in the context of the conditions of India as well as the policy followed by the Government. If implies a more equitable distribution of wealth, constant effort at raising the standard of living, the removal of social disabilities and the introduction of an ethical content in social work, so as to lead to better living, not only economic, but moral and spiritual. If the rich become richer and the poor become poorer, it is neither a socialist society, nor even a capitalist one as understood today in, say, a country like the U.S.A.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

There can be no doubt that, whenever a new solution of human problems is attempted on a wide scale, some people lose, others gain; bitter feelings are roused and wounds take time to heal.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Social sciences can never attain the laboratory certitude of the physical sciences, for they depend upon the most incalculable of ingredients—man himself. The studies have, therefore, to be enlarged by the inclusion not only of the study of man, his needs, his temperament and his aspirations, but of his conscious urges, and not in sections of time, but in time flowing as a stream.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SOCIAL SERVICE

One of the greatest difficulties in the field of social work is the absence of workers possessed of a sense of mission and a spirit of dedication. Many persons take to social work at present as a sideline to public life or for personal or professional advancement; some, through such work, seek psychological satisfaction which is not available to them in their own sphere of life. Such workers are a hindrance rather than a help. Those who have not made particular success of lives are not likely to be good social workers.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

SOCIAL WORKER

To be really effective, a social worker must undergo a training which integrates his personality by the stabilisation of his fundamental aspiration, leads to the transformation of his own spirit and gives him the power to influence the spirits of those with whom he comes in contact. All attempts at pulling life to pieces will be of no avail. The Spirit is involved in the mind; the mind in the body. The body is involved in the social structure which is embedded in the collective organism of life. You cannot transform social institutions or conditions which are only symptoms, unless the Spirit comes to be manifested articulately in the individual life of the worker—may be only in a small way—and a wider consciousness of the unity of life integrates his personality and transforms his life.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

SOCIOLOGY

It is true that Sociology cannot be—as its founder Auguste Comte once thought it would be—a super-history raised to the level of a science by an objective study of the social structure, more or less as a multi-cellular organism, its functioning and processes. Man cannot be studied in isolation, nor as a 'thing' which can be subjected to laboratory tests. Nor, as we know, can natural laws apply to societies, cultures, and institutions: nor to social and psychological reactions, much less to moral and spiritual urges.

*

If the study of society is to be placed on an appropriate basis, it cannot content itself with a mere study of social, ethnic or economic bonds. It must pursue its enquiries further and trace the forces of integration and disintegration to their source. It must trace the processes by which the Collective Unconscious releases consciously purposive forces. Such a study, therefore, would necessarily involve a study of primary and secondary institutions to discover the growth, the content and the continuity of the Collective Unconscious.

Ultimately, such creative studies should aim at discovering the processes by which the wider vision of a few higher minds are transferred to the Collective Unconscious of a whole people. This would involve going beneath external social bonds, social institutions and social action, and tracing the influence of, or emphasis on, certain central ideas—or an Idea through varying social changes —which alter the content and direction of the collective mind.

Such social studies alone are likely to be creative. Social studies which neglect psychological, moral and spiritual roots cannot help the transformation of the collective mind and are likely to be sterile exercises.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

SOIL AND SPIRIT

The human race has passed through the stage of philosophic or cultural isolationism. The doctrine of *maya* appeals to us no more; equally the cult of materialism, which treats a human being only as an animal needing material comfort, has proved barren and dangerous to humanity. We cannot separate the spirit from the matter, for, as I have said often, the spirit rests in the mind, the mind in the body, and the body in the collective organism made up of human beings, animals, vegetation and land. Culture, therefore, which transforms values realised in the Spirit, cannot be disconnected from agriculture which transforms the soil. Land transformation necessarily involves the transformation of man's spirit, exactly as transformation of the spirit involves the transformation of land.

—Speech delivered at the Indian Agricultural Institute, Pusa, 11th May 1952

SOLITUDE

It is a mistake to think that we can only grow in society. I thought so once; I have found by experience that I was wrong. Frequent resort to solitude is necessary, particularly when one feels tired, wounded, deprived of inspiration.

The modern believes and maintains that society is the be-all and end-all of life. This is false. One may be human enough to want society, but he must not be so sub-human as to want it all the time. The world of perpetual change, defeat, conflict and imperfection is never enough for a man of intelligence. *Aratirjana-samsadi*—aversion to crowds—is not a negative quality but a positive one. Solitude is never solitary even for the man who does not want to be himself.

Solitude is essential to give us the confidence which society denies us. Confidence creates the atmosphere in which yearning —but not the greed of the covetous—becomes keener. But it must be the unalterable confidence of the man who is convinced that a Higher Power shapes his destiny; of the man who has brushed aside all other duties, and sought shelter in Him. For has He not declared to him: "I shall set thee free from all bonds of sin. Grieve not"?

—The Bhagavad-Gita : An Approach

SOMNATH TEMPLE

Long before the second century A.D., the head of the Pasupata cult had his headquarters at Prabhasa. Somnath as the principal shrine of Shiva therefore may be taken to have been established at least by the beginning of the Christian era to which period the First Temple belongs.

*

Aged, infirm, desecrated, it stood, when Sardar Patel rescued it from neglect and pledged himself to its reconstruction. As a temple, it had done its work to remind ages of what India's faith had been; it was left only as a symbol of her to-be-forgotten misfortunes. With the dawn of a new era, the new temple has risen like the phoenix, from its own ashes.

*

Centuries of vandalism had left nothing but traces of this great temple to testify to its ancient grandeur.

*

In the beginning, some persons, more fond of dead stones than live values, pressed the joint of view that the ruins of the old temple should be maintained as an ancient monument. We were, however, firm in our view that the temple of Somanatha was not an ancient monument; it lived in the sentiment of the whole nation and its reconstruction was a national pledge. Its preservation should not be a mere matter of historical curiosity.

—*Somnath : The Shrine Eternal*

SOVEREIGNTY

The idea that sovereignty is unlimited or, to use the words of Hobbes, "indivisible, unlimited and illimitable," is as untrue in theory as in practice. The idea was borrowed by Nation States from the Divine Right of kings and has been leading the world to endless misery and confusion during the last three hundred years.

In the past, the sovereignty of a state was always hedged in by treaties, conventions and international law. During recent years, when the world has shrunk fast on account of science, external sovereignty as an illimitable power has no sense.

India, in spite of being a Sovereign Republic, is limited in its external relations by its membership of the Commonwealth; by its membership of the United Nations Organisation; by the express or implied alliances which it maintains with several nations; by the financial and military difficulties which preclude any nation in the world from doing what it likes; and above all by the increasing pressure of international opinion.

What is true of India is true of all nations. Today even the two most powerful nations of the world find it difficult to do what they want to do. The pressure of world opinion is rising and will, in the near future, make external sovereignty anything but real.

A leading school of jurists is of the opinion—and rightly—that only the Universal State could be sovereign; but then its external relations could only be directed to the Moon or Mars.

External sovereignty can, therefore, be defined as the power of a State to maintain its internal sovereignty as it likes; to develop and exploit its resources for its own advantage; to resist direct foreign interference in its own affairs; to frame its own foreign policies and choose its allies.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

SPEECH ON HIS 73rd BIRTHDAY

I am overwhelmed at the kind words which have been spoken about Mummy and me on this occasion, and we deeply appreciate the gesture of affection made by you in holding this dinner.

You have just assured me, Sir, that I am 73 today. But my birthday has been a very tricky business. Last month, the Hindi Institute of the Agra University presented me with a volume commemorating my 70th birthday. Again, the Bhavan celebrated my 60th birthday in 1947; Delhi friends did it in 1949; Ahmedabad in 1951. All these uncertainties are rather baffling.

Sir, you are an eminent jurist. You will, therefore, agree with me that there is no direct evidence to prove when I was born. The only admissible testimony, that of my mother who was present at my birth, is not available. Going a step further, Sir, it is a case, I submit, in which it is difficult to prove, for want of admissible evidence, that I was born at all ! Following this line of argument, the fact that I am alive is also not free from reasonable doubt.

Hundreds of students of one University in U.P. will swear to the fact that they carried me once—at any rate what they thought was me—to the funeral ground and consigned my relics at the *sangam* in Prayag, and on the authority of all our Shastras, I would therefore be in heaven. On another occasion hundreds of students of another University in U.P. not only consigned what they thought was me to flames, but a lady student who thought she was my wife removed the *tikka* and broke her bangles to testify her widowhood. If all these incidents have any evidentiary value I am in doubt whether I am alive or dead. It looks as if I am both alive and dead, and I have a wife and a widow living at the same time! In the mood of Hamlet, I am inclined to ask myself, "Am I or am I not ? That is the question."

Compliments have been paid to me by both Sri Rajyapal and Justice Bhagwati for whatever little I have done for the Bhavan. But the credit really goes to all the friends who have stood by us during the last 20 years, and given it money, service, loyalty and affection. But for them, the Bhavan would not have been what it is today.

This is not only true of my activities relating to the Bhavan; it has happened to me throughout life in all the spheres where I have ventured to tread—at the Bar and in politics; in the different institutions which I have helped to build up; the multifarious activities with which I have been associated. The priceless gift which God has given me is friends. It was given to me not only after I attained some measure of success, but even from my childhood, and even during the days of my life-and-death struggle with ill-health and poverty. If I am rich today, I am rich only in the affection of friends.

On this occasion, I am tempted to look back on my life. So looking back I find that the most revolutionary change that has overtaken our little world has been the transition from stagnancy to flux, from security to insecurity. I was born in a house which was constructed in the 17th century. I played in a house which a distant ancestor had built in the latter half of the 18th century. I lived, when young, in a house which was constructed at the beginning of the 19th century. When I was young everyone knew to what world he belonged; everyone tried to provide security not only for himself, but his grand-children. But now we live a life in which everything is insecure. We do not know what taxes will filch whatever security we have this year. We do not know what shape the world will take a few months hence.

I am not passing any value judgement. The Industrial Revolution, the shrinkage of time and space, the two World Wars and an epidemic of restless, aimless dynamism which knows not whither it is going, have ushered in an era when it is difficult to find anything stable to hold fast to, which would give us faith in ourselves and in our future. But, in spite of these rapidly developing changes, I have found that the fundamentals with which I started life have been found to possess self-evident validity.

I started with a deep faith in *Sanatana Dharma*—not the rituals nor the religious doctrines which go by that name but the eternal and all-pervading ethico-spiritual Order on which it is founded—*Esha dharmah sanaatanah*—to which all right actions should conform. And in spite of the decay of values which we see today, I have found with every year that that Order is inescapable; that Truth which comes of loyalty to one's own convictions, Love which works to give self-fulfilment to others, Beauty which comes of self-restraint, are absolute values, which no one can disregard and fulfil himself.

Above all, experience of three score years and ten has given me this firm conviction that nothing that we do, nothing that we hope to do, is done by us; we never achieve what we want to achieve; no plans, no ambitions, no calculations and no regrets have any place in life. The achievement, big or small, is the outcome of a Higher Will.

The more I see of life, the more clearly do I see the truth that the man who thinks that he is doing something is a conceited fool —*ahamkaara vimoodhaatmaa*. Nothing happens as he wishes. His Will alone prevails. The tiny mite we call man, living on a petty little sphere revolving around a minor star in a universe, in which a hundred million light years is but a unit of measurement, has no place except as a manifestation of His Will.

Several things, which I have learnt during these years, will for ever remain the pillars of my faith.

First, life, even the hardest, is a most beautiful and wonderful adventure in the world.

Secondly, adherence to one's own truth as one sees it, at all cost, is a thing of beauty; it makes life happy; it gives an irresistible power to sustain ideals. It is that which alone gives man the sense of fulfilment.

Lastly, greed and fear, hatred and coercion, and denial or disregard of God—even if they masquerade in the holy garb of standard of living and welfare, peace and maturity, justice, co-operation or progress—never can and never will create mental, moral or material millennium.

With age, my interest in life's adventure has not abated. Some people are afraid of being considered old. I confess I like being old. When you are old, everyone wants to make room for you; everyone wants to see that you do not stumble on the steps; everyone—friends, children and co-workers—thinks that you need protection and tries to give it; everyone looks upon you as something not to be hustled or elbowed. And you can be indifferent to praise or blame, for you have nothing to gain or lose or fear in the limited future at your disposal. This makes you happy. Anyway it makes me happy.

The old Sanskrit poet was willing to put up with old age, but for the fact that young ladies called him 'father'. When he was so called he felt the tusks of a hundred elephants goring him. But I rather like the experience. It throws a wall of protection around me; and so protected, I can look upon the fresh young things around me as denizens of a bright, new fairyland.

The spirit of adventure has never lost its zest as I march in the company of old friends. There is novelty also in growing old together, a privilege which God has permitted me to enjoy in a large measure. For instance, Sir Harsiddhbhai Divatia, our Vice-President, and I started life together, almost from 1906. We have been comrades in life, in the work of the Bhavan as in other walks of life.

Again, for over 36 years, in friendship and in married life, my wife and I have grown up together, sharing every thought and emotion, planning and working together, partners in anxieties, triumphs and failures. And in thus growing together, we have felt a freshness which has never faded since we first came together 39 years ago.

From the day I conceived the idea of the Bhavan, we have nursed it with more than parental solicitude. We have given to it of our best, and if God gives us some more years of life, we hope to see the Bhavan fulfil its mission of helping the reintegration of Indian Culture in an age when culture is losing its high values; of standing for God in an age when to deny God is considered as a badge of superiority; of giving to the coming generation that faith in Sanatana Dharma, to serve which so many of our great men have given their lives.

There is very little more that I can give to the Bhavan. But on this occasion when you have been so kind, I would like to make a humble offering. Our family deity, Chandrasekhar, is still installed in what was once the Munshi family house in Broach. That deity is not a mere image to us; it has been for us, for generations, an ancestor whose living inspiration has never failed. Next month I will part with this cherished family deity to the Bhavan. I have already provided a temple for it at the Andheri campus. And I hope that some day those of you who live after us will see that our ashes are placed at the feet of the Lord.

My life, as you have said, has been full of varied activities. During the last 62 years I have collected diaries, records, letters and files— a few hundreds in number, my first diary going back to 1st January 1897. The collection includes records of many of the activities with which I have been associated. There are over 150 files containing papers of the Constituent Assembly, most of which are not available elsewhere; they are now being edited by you, Mr. Chairman and Sri Venkatarama Iyer. There are files of the historic episode of the integration of Hyderabad; files containing documents relating to the period when I was Home Minister, Minister of Food and Governor. There is also a fairly voluminous correspondence between Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai and myself.

I have decided to donate all these files, papers and documents, many of which are not available anywhere, to the Bhavan in the hope that they will be properly preserved and made use of for appropriate studies. I also give a donation of Rs. 5000/- for equipping the room in which these files would be kept and for the installation of the deity in the temple.

I thank you heartily for your overwhelming affection.

—Bhavan's Journal, 24th January 1960

SPIRIT

God is, and permeates the world; the Spirit is His expression in the individual and the goal of individual life is to uplift and transform the material by a progressive unfoldment of the Spirit.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

SPIRIT-CALLING

For many years I am familiar with what is called 'Spirit-calling' through table thumping, planchette and automatic writing.

I have myself explored this 'spirit-calling' business under varying conditions. At first, this 'spirit-talking' strikes one as a miracle; but it is just an ordinary phenomenon—may be paranormal—which even school girls can bring into existence. By intense concentration and inducing a receptive mind, a fake personality is created which answers questions.

These fake personalities are not spirits or disembodied souls, much less gods or goddesses. They have no super-human vision or experience; nor do they possess intelligence higher than that of the person calling them.

The answers given are either extremely common and often fantastic and are the product of some reflex psychic activities of the persons engaged in calling the 'Spirits.'

Once you start calling the 'Spirits' and begin to believe them as real, they obsess the mind. The mind then develops an oppressive sense that they are super-human and their advice should be sought and accepted on every occasion. Once you come to this stage 'Spirit-calling' becomes a very dangerous disease which unbalances the mind.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SPIRIT—THE WAY OF THE

It is true that India has not the monopoly of the Spirit. It comes to all those who follow the way of the Spirit wherever they are. But Indians have given it a home, and those who threaten our way of the Spirit do not.

The Spiritual values for which we stand are : Truth, Love and Beauty. Truth, as one sees it and is ready to stand for. Communism stands for 'fabricated truths' imposed by the State on individuals through fear or systematic indoctrination.

Our way of the Spirit stands for Love, the conquest of the ego, by seeing All in One and One in All. Communism stands for an inflated collective ego—a dictatorship reared on class hatred and bent on world conquest by playing upon the fear and cupidity of men.

We stand for Beauty, which comes of self-restraint of the body and mind. Communism stands for unabashed materialism, the denial of the Spirit to rise above material condition.

The way of the Spirit which we believe in is based on the faith that God is and in-forms all creation.

—Bhavan's Journal, 14th April 1963

SPIRITUAL ENERGY

When spiritual energy is released, it supplies the motive power for a dedicated life. It creates a sense of mission, and all effort thereafter becomes consecrated. Real creative work follows.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE

Spiritual knowledge is not possible without intelligence, study, meditation and an effort to realise God.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963

SPIRITUAL WAR

Men have somehow come to think that the 'hot' war is the final calamity. But if this spiritual calamity is lost, no hot war is needed, for the moral and spiritual battle will be lost before a single shot is fired. This was what the Father of our Nation taught us: that God should rule, not in the lowly and poor only, but in the rich and powerful; not in the tenant only, but in the landlord; not in one section of the people, but in all; not in one religion, but in all. And in His name he taught us to conduct a total war against narrow-minded men and separatism; against violence, untruth, and evil, the parents of godless materialism.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil Vol. I

STARVATION DEATHS

Advertising starvation deaths, for instance, creates the very conditions which every sensible man wishes to avoid. I have studied the score of starvation deaths from 1950 when it was first started. All lists of starvation deaths have been proclaimed with emphasis; most of them, on scrutiny, have been found to have been accepted on hearsay evidence or by over generous credulity.

When one such list was scrutinised and found baseless, a leading public man of the district, who had first started the scare, told me, "Sir, but for my having given the interview about starvation deaths, you would not have visited my district."

—*Janu's Death and other Kulapati's Letters*

STATISTICS

Statistics are extraordinary things; they can prove almost anything, and any two competent statisticians can generally be relied upon to disagree.

In the year 1952 statistics were flung in my face to prove that the country had a food deficit of seven million tons. I knew that this was nonsense, but I was not a statistician. Knowledge was therefore no match for mathematics. Within four weeks, however, every one said that the country needed no more food imports. Ship-loads of imports arriving in our ports were simply rejected without so much as a "thank you."

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

STERILISATION

Sterilisation can be a useful social measure but it can be greatly misused. Sound medical reasons should be forthcoming before such an operation can be morally desired.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

STONE IDOL

Who can say that a stone idol cannot become a living God, if the worshipper has the necessary faith and self-surrender ?

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

STRENGTH

The basis of life is energy. I am sick of "results" which alone the modern mind hankers for. Results are but flowers which blossom in the morning and wither at dusk. Strength, independent of environment, is the only thing which lives. I wish someone would lead us with the banner of strength. Our only enemies are cowardice, exhaustion, disintegration. If we can but become worshippers of unbending strength—strength based on faith—strength which is above time and the brute in man !

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Our struggle has been unique in the annals of the world. The British came, found us disorganised, and bought our soul by a promise of enforced peace. In search of a new dignity, we mimicked foreign ways and mouthed strange accents. We forgot our ancient dignity. Only the tremendous vitality of our culture saved us.

—Convocation Address at the University of Calcutta, 20th March 1948

STUDENT DISCIPLINE

I have noted with deep distress the increasing tendency among students in several parts of the State deliberately to defy discipline and law. This has placed an unusual and unpleasant responsibility on the Police Force. I fully realise the difficulties of a force which has to face a situation arising out of the unruly and lawless activities of educated young men. We are familiar with the occasional rowdyism of students all over the world. This is a result of the exuberance of youth and it creates no problem of law and order. But a line has to be drawn when groups of citizens, whether young or old, try to place themselves above the law and seek to terrorise the public, or to enforce their will by coercive demonstrations and other similar activities. Such outbreaks disturb the normal progress of the rule of law and social life is placed in jeopardy.

*

It is both a matter for agony and shame that, in many parts of India, discipline is disappearing from among the students. This is a most unfortunate thing. I need not go into the causes of it, but an educational system, or a national life, in which the young men do not observe discipline, is a complete failure. We must save ourselves from this calamity. We must realise that the relation between students and teachers is not that of labour and capital, between employer and employed. It is the relation of persons who are jointly pursuing knowledge in the bonds of mutual confidence. This being so, there is no scope for a strike in an educational institution. It is the influences from outside which are introducing such disruptive elements.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

STUDENTS IN AMERICA

The students in U.S.A., unlike those in India, rarely indulge in demonstrations. Attempts on the part of the students to coerce the University authorities into their way of thinking is entirely unknown. They know nothing of hunger-strikes. They never march out of their examination halls. They never dispute the right of the teacher to refuse to promote or pass them if they are found unsatisfactory. No one has yet dreamt of invoking the aid of the Court to prove his worth when the University authorities fail to recognise it.

There are easy-going students in plenty; there are duds; the number of those who participate in the different activities of the Universities is legion. But the student can neglect his studies only at his peril; he can disturb the discipline of the institution only at the risk of immediate removal.

—*The World We Saw*

STUDY OF INDIA'S PAST

A post-mortem examination of India's past is not the study of her culture. Dissection gives the body in sections; it does not give the living man. Many scholars even look at our history in periods, Ancient, Mediaeval, Modern—each as a separate unit, as if the world began and ended with it. This kind of study is often dignified by the name 'objective' or 'scientific.' But an objective and scientific study of a living thing can be made only when it discovers the central, continuous urge of which the apparant life is a mere expression and the body but an outward symbol.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

SUCCESS IN LIFE

If you ask me whether you will succeed in life or not I will ask you a question in return. Have you developed that impatient readiness to find the truth by study, enquiry, self-discipline and service—the first step in creative power ? If not, are you prepared to acquire it as speedily as possible ? ...

If this readiness is quenched, you will cease to grow; decay of the spirit will set in; creative power will never be yours. And this applies not only to you, but to every one of us, old and young.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

SUFFERING

There are two kinds of suffering : one is imposed by external conditions. The remedy for it is the activity of a Social Welfare State, increasingly equipped with power to produce wealth quickly and distribute it equitably.

Suffering, however, does not arise from external individual conditions. It mainly arises from the propaganda of discontent and a faint-heartedness, a weakness of character; principally because of lack of faith in God. No amount of external comforts can save man from this suffering. The only cure for him is to increase the development of the Spirit in man and evolve God-mindedness among as large a number as possible.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SUPERNATURAL POWERS

There are no supernatural powers. These are only powers which we do not think natural, because our knowledge of nature and spirit is limited. By *Yoga* and other practices one can acquire some control over the laws which govern various forces, which we think supernatural, but in reality are not.

Some persons have native gifts by which they can operate these laws. When they do it for sinister purposes we call it witchcraft. But what is generally called witchcraft is again pure trickery imposing upon the credulity of man.

—*Replies to the Reader*

SWADHYAYA

Swadhyaya, the Recurring Recital, is the most formative influence whether for the young or the old. Swadhyaya involves;

First, the selection of a book, for the matter of that any book, for recurring recital;

Second, the recital of parts of the book every day of one's life.

Modern dictators enforce a propaganda manual for *Swadhyaya*. For this purpose, Hitler prescribed *Mein Kampf* for the German nation, and it destroyed the soul of Germans. The Communist propaganda prescribes recurrent recitals of party catechisms. Such *Swadhyaya* can make slaves and party tools. It cannot lead to self-fulfilment.

If the book selected for *Swadhyaya* is an uninspiring book, the student will throw it away. If someone takes a detective novel for recurring recitals he will never read it again. It is only a work of beauty or inspiration that can have a fresh meaning and strength every time one reads it. The work, to be a proper *Swadhyaya*, must appeal to the fundamental moral or aesthetic sense of man and deal with permanent values.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

SWEDEN

The Swedes are population-conscious. They want a higher and higher birth-rate. Strenous efforts are, therefore, made to equalise the difference in standards between large families and the childless.

The principle behind the family welfare policy is that, since families with more mouths to feed have to live under comparatively more difficult circumstances than unmarried persons, society should provide large families with housing, good nourishing food, cheap health services and cheap clothing.

The policy is as sound as it could be, if—and that is a big 'if' —a country has a meagre population and enormous resources.

As a consequence of this policy it is illegal in Sweden to dismiss women employees who get engaged or married. State assistance starts as soon as a young couple decide to get married and found a family. It is realised that, for a happy home, the wife should be a good housekeeper, and part of a woman's education is to be trained in domestic matters such as house work, cooking, the care of children, serving, etc. There are about 400 Municipal Training Centres for such purposes.

Medical Centres for mothers and children under the auspices of trained doctors and midwives are found all over the State. Natal care is very cheap, maternity benefits handsome. Abortion, a serious problem in most civilized countries, is illegal in Sweden, except on social grounds; however, women who are worn out, tired and neurotic, or weighed down by poverty and sordid conditions can undergo abortion at the hands of qualified doctors. Sex instruction is on the curriculum of every school. All the Mothers' Centres in the country teach women the proper use of contraceptives and diagnose pregnancy free of charge.

—*The World We Saw*

SYMBOL WORSHIP

An ordinary mortal, to acquire faith in God, needs a symbol —like a Shivalinga or a Buddhist *stoopa.* The symbol differs according to the needs of each worshipper and the tenets of each religion.

Unless a man has reached a very high stage of evolution, he cannot do without a symbol. I do not think that a vast majority of men, however intellectual or advanced, can do without shrines, images or idols or some such symbols.

—*Replies to the Reader*

TAJ MAHAL

The Taj Mahal on a moonlight night defies description: it is a scintillating gem of varying colours and shapes. It is not a poem in marble, as some have said, but marble has melted into divine poesy. It is the living image of Mumtaz, an image that neither moth nor rust can corrupt.

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

TAPAS

Tapas is not dwelling in a cave. Nor is it giving up food or the affairs of the world, nor torturing the body. It is *Bhaavasamshuddhi*, the training which enables us to conquer greed, hate and fear, sublimate our passions, purify our attitudes and emotions, and re-cast our personal relations in the frame-work of understanding and love.

It is *tapas* alone that brings us the discipline of the intellect, the emotions and animal instincts in us, as well as the altruisation of social instincts. It is by it that we will be able to balance the claims of change against the need to lead our own way of life.

Tapas is not only for the saint; it is something which has to do very much with worldly life. It is one of the Central Values of Bharatiya Vidya. Everyone in his own life, in every experience, small and big, can invest his attitude with beauty.

This *tapas*, this *Bhaavasamshuddhi*, is not self-delusion nor a subjective attitude. It has the miraculous power, if we have the necessary faith, of materialising the beauty that we cherish. If our *tapas* is concentrated, as was the *tapas* of our *rishis*, what we believe to be beautiful will in the end become beautiful in fact.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 23rd June 1963*

TEACHERS

The teachers, by their character and their affectionate attitude towards students, must enter into the mind and life of the students. There is no greater shaping influence on character than the example of a teacher's life and aspirations. If the students go wrong you can take it that they had never met with a teacher who could furnish to them the example of noble life devoted to learning and ideals.

*

The teacher's role—and particularly in universities—should be creative. For him devotion to learning has to be both a means and an end. Without such an ideal his profession cannot be restored to that prestige which is his due; nor can he, like the *rishis* of old, have a sense of self-fulfilment.

By the very nature of his profession a teacher is pledged to a simple life and noble professions. While society has to guarantee him a decent competence—and it is a step long over-due : it is suicidal not to take it—it must not be forgotten that all great and enduring work is done with a sense of mission. The status of a teacher's profession will be just as high as the standard of professional conduct which he maintains.

The teacher is the principal driving force in a dynamic society, and his leadership is essential to free India, which is being built anew from the bottom upwards.

*

The teacher who hates his profession, or who hates boys and girls with whom he comes in contact, has no place in the profession; he had better change his job.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

TECHNICAL SKILL

Though we are anxious to acquire modern technical skill, we do not relish 'tidal waves of learning' from any one country flooding across India. Nor are we prepared to destroy the prestige of our culture or of the art and traditions that have arisen out of it. While we want to build anew, we do not want to dig up our stable foundation. We are determined to preserve, promote and develop our cultural heritage.

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

TECHNICAL WORDS IN HINDI

Another matter of importance is the use of technical words current in modern civilization and science and in international intercourse. In my opinion, it will be harmful to replace them, even if it were possible. If Hindi has to be a modern language, the English or international technical words in use must be retained, may be in an easily identifiable Indian form. English grows, and once Sanskrit grew, by ready assimilation of foreign words. This is the only way to replace English by Hindi as the medium of higher education in the country and fulfil the objective of making it the national language in fifteen years.

—Address delivered at the All-India Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Sammelan, Bombay, 23rd February 1951

TEMPLE BELLS

Temple bells are rung as an act of worship. When they are so rung, their sound gets woven into our soul, and awakens, by association, the slumbering purity in our heart and lifts it towards God.

—Replies to the Reader

TOP SOIL

Top soil is the real source of life on earth. Year after year, from time immemorial, it has given man what he seeks most—food and fibre. Without it rain is useless.

Rain falls; the trees break up its force and the water seeps into the sub-soil. If the top layer is covered with plants, erosion remains at bay.

Top soil, when held together by vegetation, conserves water; allows it to go underground where it feeds springs, swells streams, lakes and wells. When this green cover is gone, however, there is nothing to bind the top soil which is then carried away by torrents into the rivers and thence into the sea. When this happens, the land hardens, and life goes out of it; and it becomes what is called "eroded". It will then neither absorb water nor retain any moisture. Vegetation will not grow on eroded ground and leaves will not decay, thus denying the earth the fertile soil from which food can grow. If we lose the top soil our life on earth will become extinct.

—Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters

TOTALITARIAN *vs.* DEMOCRATIC STATES

In a totalitarian State there are no limits to the social control exercised by the dominant minority. Under the direction of its leaders it can enforce its will in the name of the people, if necessary aided by the power agencies of the army and police. It can also drive the people to conform to pre-determined grooves of conduct and thought.

In a democratic State, on the other hand, where there is neither an unexpressed common law or political tradition as in England, or a written fundamental law as in India, there are fundamental and independent judiciary which generally accepts the rule of the law and the liberty of free expression and association. The sovereign power, therefore, has to be exercised by the leaders under conditions in which public opinion develops the courage to resist coercion. The people, therefore, have to be approached by open propaganda; the social forces have to gather power from the spontaneous response of the people as a whole; and at all times, care has to be taken that the people develop and maintain a sense of identity with the ruling dominant minority in the country.

The two forms of State do not fall in water-tight compartments. They are not mutually exclusive. It is difficult at a given time to discover the thin margin which distinguishes excessive from barely essential social control. But the sure test appears to be whether the people develop a sense of identity with their ruling minority as a matter of free response or are regimented by education and coercion imposed from above into developing it. In the first case the sovereignty vests in the people; in the second case the sovereignty does not vest in the people but in the leaders.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

TOWN PLANNING

In most parts of India the town planner is at a disadvantage. Some people look upon him as a nuisance. In several parts of India the P.W.D. looks upon him as an enemy. Even some Governments look upon him as a white elephant which had better be presented to some foreign country or put to the plough in the Tari.

*

We must realise that the town or village cannot be planned now for extraneous conditions like security or the needs of the rich or the convenience of industries. The old concept both of the town and the country is gone. We must now build them round the individual. They should take into account his needs and aspirations. They must create for him environmental life essential for happiness in this age.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

TRADITION

Tradition, the persistence of forms and the continuity of institutional life, is a necessity ot life.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

TREES

We must take the pledge to plant, preserve and protect a tree with every birth, marriage and death in our family.

*

In our country the Rajasthan desert marches on for want of vegetation. The upper reaches of the Yamuna and Ganga have been deprived of trees. As a result we find floods, scarcity of water and the silting up of river-beds. Whatever short-term solutions we may find, the long-term solution ot India's problem is to multiply trees and not children.

*

In olden days we had a loving sentiment for trees. We treated them as gods and goddesses. Our ancient literature and tradition enjoin that trees should be adopted as children. This sentiment we must restore, if we want to survive.

*

In order to develop our resources fully, we require 2000 crores of trees. We have a long way to go, and every man, woman and child should become tree-conscious and take to planting, preserving and protecting trees in a spirit of worship. The value and care of trees should form an integral section in our text-books.

*

You must realise that planting, preserving and worshipping trees is the first and the easiest lesson in the rural reconstruction of India; but it is the lesson which will pay the highest dividend. To the town, trees represent beauty and humidity; to the villagers, they mean shade and fruits, rains and manure, and the sentinels which guard them against erosion. In fact, they are life itself.

*

There is no greater form of worship than to plant or preserve a tree. It is the living contact between the devotee and the god. Every devotee must, therefore, plant at least one tree in the shrine which he loves most. Time and again, I have appealed to the whole country to help in restoring our sacred places to their pristine beauty. In the past I made appeals for the planting of trees at the Samadhi of Gandhiji at Rajghat, at Dehotsarga and at Kanchi, because I felt that this was the noblest way in which religious feeling could be translated into action, and our whole life, physical, mental and spiritual, made more inspiring.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

In order to regulate our rains we want trees; to prevent the rains running away with the top-soil in our water-channels we want trees; to prevent floods we want trees. Trees are the cheapest means of preserving water; each tree is a dam. The challenge of billions of rain-drops can only be met by millions of tremulous leaves.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

TRUE EDUCATION

It is an error to suppose that a man is truly educated because he is a good scientist or literary man though a bad husband; because he is a capable lawyer though a bad citizen; because he is a good patriot though a moral wreck. Human life is one. It cannot be divided into compartments. And no one can evade his responsibility to life as a whole by claiming that he is devoted to a part of it.

—*Convocation Address at the University of Calcutta, 20th March 1948*

TRUTH

Distinctions of truth and untruth are but a web of words woven by wiseacres. Whatever uplifts life is truth. Whatever invests life with faith and enthusiasm is truth. That alone conquers defeat. That alone takes us above and beyond the woes of life.

*

Truth is the inseparable oneness of our thought, word and deed. This truth is hard to understand, harder to follow. More often than not, we think in one way, talk in another and act in a third. Every moment we are impelled by love of fame, position, wealth, conceit; we are deterred by fear, contumely, persecution; we are driven by wrath, malice, spite, and the fabric of truth falls to pieces as word, thought and deed follow different directions. That is untruth. But in the brief moments when these three become one, we realise God, Who is Truth.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

"What is truth ?" asked Pilate, and Truth still vexes us with its elusiveness. It is not consistency; growth of vision or fuller knowledge of facts often makes consistency an untruth. It is not even one's view of things; for, two people trying to see truth may honestly come to two entirely conflicting views. Yet Truth is universal—sought after, held in reverence, by all; the guiding light of all high-souled efforts. This Truth is the inseparable unity of thought, word and deed in a man at a given moment; and in order to be really effective it has to be backed by the very life of the man, who thereby earnestly pursues 'Becoming.'

—*The Bhagavad-Gita: An Approach*

TRUTH AS I SEE IT

I will speak to you of the truth as I have seen it. It has come to me out of whatever little I have studied and thought of; above all, through faith which comes of experience and grace.

First, I speak to you of EXISTENCE which is one and indivisible. It was so seen by the seers of old. "All that is moving and unmoving is enveloped by God", said one seer. "All is Brahman", said another. "Only EXISTENCE, dear one, was in the beginning", said Sage Yajnavalkya to Maitreyi.

These words, however, have acquired diverse implications in the course of centuries. If any word of classical significance has to be used, I would prefer the word "Vaasudeva"—the "Abode of All". "Vaasudeva—(That) is All", says the *Bhagavad Gita.*

There is nothing that is excluded from EXISTENCE. Non-existence, *abhaava*, is only a concept. But the human mind is subject to severe limitations and finds it difficult to take a synoptic view of this unitary, total EXISTENCE. It demarcates it into the realms of the lifeless and the living, of matter, mind and spirit. Having so divided Vaasudeva, that is All, it tries to view each realm in terms of distinct characteristics, often mutually exclusive, sometimes as opposites.

The *Upanishads* speak of the One that was in the beginning, which thought and willed to become many. This One includes all forms of existence, material, vital, mental and spiritual. But to visualise EXISTENCE as encompassing All, one has to develop a higher perception through long training and strict discipline. For lack of such perception, matter is treated as different from the Spirit, and on this distinction a plethora of thinking has been built up as different schools of philosophy.

The emphasis on the Spirit and matter as mutually exclusive, has led to the dogma that the Spirit is real and the material world an illusion. This dogma ignores the fact that, EXISTENCE being total, Spirit is necessarily involved in matter, and matter, however gross, is the expression of the Spirit.

To quote from my book *Bhagavad Gita and Modern Life:* "I could never come to believe that the world of matter and mind is born of a gigantic illusion; if it were, suicide or escape to a cave in the Himalaya would appear to be the only honest course.

"The world is about us, as real as real can be, though its reality is passing through or rather is in a state of flux; it is an expression of something very real and abiding. And if this something is the Spirit, it must somehow or other manifest itself in the world of mind and matter; whether it descends as an avatar or manifests itself in highly sensitive human instruments is a matter of little consequence."

At the same time there can be no material interpretation of life or history as the modern materialists believe, as there can be no exclusive spiritual interpretation. There is no world of matter governed solely and universally by physico-chemical laws. Life and mind are not the accidental products of these forces operating on matter. To attribute the power of love or the attraction of beauty or the effectiveness of truth to such forces stumbling upon accidental release of power, is to be blind to facts.

To distinguish between the natural and the spiritual, therefore, is to submit to the superstition of this so-called scientific age. Nature, that is the physical aspect of things, is not a denial of the Spirit, nor is the spiritual a breakaway from nature. The laws of Nature are as integral parts of the Spirit as the spiritual laws are of those of Nature. The Spirit sleeps in the womb of Nature.

It lies inert in the stone, wakes up in the plant, perceives in the animal, develops self-consciousness in man and becomes manifest in the *yogi*.

Hence arises the supreme truth which must never be forgotten. In all conscious efforts towards evolution or to find self-realisation, the natural must be made spiritual, and the spiritual must become natural. The ascetic who ignores or tortures his body, hinders self-realisation as much as the materialist who thinks that his body is his sole concern. So does everyone who thinks of Nature without the Spirit or of the Spirit without Nature.

There is no matter so gross as is not impregnated with the Spirit, and nothing which can be called spiritual if it has no affinity with matter. Energy and matter, life and mind, conscience and spirit, are all of the stuff of Reality. Of them all is EXISTENCE made.

Secondly, I speak to you of RITA, the Cosmic Order. EXISTENCE is self-regulative. The Vedic *rishis* called this regulative force *Rita*. It is the all-pervasive, omnipotent, inviolable Cosmic Order. All things in nature, in animals, in men and gods, move and have their being in and through this Cosmic Order, which operates as much upon matter and life, as upon the mind and the Spirit.

There is no power that can function, no self that can seek self-realisation apart from or in violation of the Cosmic Order. When translated in terms of the norm, it becomes Truth, *satya*. *Asatya*, untruth, is *anrita*, negation of the Cosmic Order. That is why the Vedic *rishi* says that *Rita* and *Satya*, Order and Truth, which make for the stability of Existence, are the twin aspects of the Supreme.

Truth is not the only aspect of this Cosmic Order. Beauty is another. The Vedic *rishi* saw rightly when he discovered the dawn beautiful and the noble thought blissful because of *Rita*.

It is because of *Rita* that Existence throws up its aspects which the seers have called Reality, Consciousness and Bliss (*sat, chit, aanand*).

But the human mind, even when it is tempered to a point when knowledge becomes spiritual insight, cannot encompass all its aspects. It may have many more aspects which we are never destined to know or which other beings in other parts of the universe may have the opportunity and the means of knowing.

Thirdly, I speak of the process of transformation. The way of EXISTENCE under the operation of the Cosmic Order as we see it, is a continuous process of transformation. This process is a sort of flowering of the Cosmos from the primeval energy and matter through rudimentary life, to conscious existence, both individual and collective; and then, through such existence, to moral certitude and spiritual insight, when the Spirit, reversing the earlier process, releases creative power which begins to penetrate and uplift the earlier stages.

First, physical energy is transformed into matter. From matter, life is evolved. Once life comes into being, it is driven along by the Basic Reactions—*raga*, *dvesha* and *bhaya*—attachment, repulsion and fear. These reactions give life its primary activities; self-preservation, reproduction and growth. These urges are instinctive and so essential to life that they play a vital role in the survival, both of the individual and the race. They distinguish the living from the dead.

Fourthly, I speak to you of the Collective Organism of life.

A little over two billion years ago, in the early pre-Cambrian period, the non-living proteins began to be transformed into the simplest living system. Ever since then the most intimate relation has subsisted between the living organisms on earth and their environments comprising both the physical and the biotic factors.

Acting collectively and simultaneously, they create the collective organism on the globe. This Collective Organism in which life is rooted, like EXISTENCE, is unitary and total.

This organism has for its physical basis, the geographical and climatic conditions created by the sunshine and the soil, the river and the mountain, the climate and the rain of every area on earth. It forms part of the larger organism made up of the physical, vegetable, animal and human elements of the globe; this again, through a series of larger organism, forms a part of the cosmic organism.

As I stated before, the stuff of EXISTENCE is made up of energy and matter, life and mind, conscience and the spirit. The Collective Organism being no more than its microcosm on earth, mind, the moral sense and the spirit are all involved in this organism. It has collective consciousness too, regulated by the Cosmic Laws which operate on the supraphysical plane.

Throughout the Cosmos, the process of transformation prevails, the Spirit unfolding itself through gradual stages of matter, life and mind, ultimately to flower as the fundamental aspirations in man. Through the creative power of the higher mind of man, they find fulfilment in upholding the moral and the spiritual aspects of the Cosmic Order expressed through Truth and Love, Faith and Joy and Beauty.

Every act which disturbs the equilibrium of the Collective Organism violates the Cosmic Order and retards the process of transformation. If, for instance, the balance between the vegetable and animal life is not maintained, fertile lands will be converted into howling deserts, destroying life. This truth is illustrated by the fate which overtook the Mayans of North America.

These Mayans were a powerful and ingenious race. As described by a historian, "they were the most brilliant aboriginal people on the planet." They built huge palaces and temples; they knew mathematics and astronomy. Their material achievements are attested by the magnificent ruins they have left.

They have disappeared from the face of the earth. Their mighty edifices are a colossal wreck. In the words of Shelly:

Round these ruins, boundless and bare,
The lone and leval sands stretch far away.

"Why ?" asks the ecologist. The Mayans discovered the maize, the finest and the richest foodgrain in the world. They intensively cultivated it for centuries. They flourished; they multiplied with vigour; they lived with happy hearts.

But the soil so rich once has no top-soil left now; it is a stretch of bare lime-stone rock.

We must never forget the lesson of the Mayans. Their land had no domestic cattle; they had therefore no need for hay and therefore no use for crop rotation. There was no manure either and no forests; nothing to replenish the soil.

In a thousand years the Mayans ate up the corn; the cornfields ate up the forests; the corn ate up the top-soil; and all that was left was death and an endless empty scrub-jungle.

I repeat that the climate and the land and those who live in it form a single inseparable Collective Organism.

The rudimentary mind, as it evolves out of life, is incapable of appreciating the unitary nature of the Collective Organism and the physical, moral and spiritual laws by which it is governed. At that stage it is exclusively under the sway of the Basic Reactions—greed, fear and hate.

It goes out through the sense organs, finding satisfaction in sensual delight, or in withdrawing from whatever was dreary and dreadful; or in trying to destroy whatever stands between its desires and their satisfaction. In the result life is bestial or brutish.

With the Basic Reactions—greed, fear and hate—driving his mind along, man, when he emerged on the earth, began actively to disturb the balance of the Collective Organism. He destroyed forests; inaugurated the butchery called wars; enslaved millions; created conditions under which the collective consciousness was often smothered. As a result, the evolution of the Higher Mind, with its moral sense and fundamental aspirations—the next stage of transformation—was retarded.

When the higher mind begins to develop and man is in this developing stage, he is no longer content to be the passive victim of external factors. He develops the urge to make conscious changes in the Collective Organism. However, his moral sense is undeveloped and his fundamental aspirations inarticulate.

In ignorance of the total nature of the Collective Organism and the forces operating therein, he believes that the natural resources, human as well as non-human, are capable of being indefinitely exploited for human ends. It has not been brought home to him that the natural resources can serve the ends of transformation only if the total life of the Collective Organism is maintained in harmony and vigour in conformity with the Cosmic Law.

He exhausts the soil and calls it farming; he pollutes the air, creates slums and calls it civilization; he destroys the forests to feed furnaces and calls it advancement.

In this stage—and we are not still out of it—we isolate matter from the Spirit in producing a soulless materialism, when man remains no better than a wicked animal playing with the atomic energy to set the world on fire.

There is also the tendency to isolate and emphasise the Spirit to the disregard of the Collective Organism. As a result, we have high-souled ascetics, but life remains barren and the world tends to become a wilderness.

—Bhavan's Journal, 15th August 1962

TUFT

Tufts and caste marks were intended to distinguish castes and creeds. They have now lost their significance.

—Replies to the Reader

UNITY

Unity is sometimes imposed on a people by military occupation, or state action, through fear, or violence. Real and lasting unity is only achieved by people developing themselves by tradition, necessity or action, into an aggregate with a soul, or Collective Unconscious. This soul sets them on a career of feeling, thinking and willing themselves into a living organism.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil; Vol. I

UNIVERSAL PEACE

Universal peace will come. At present the animal instincts in man are manifesting themselves in world-wide movements. But this is the churning of the ocean of life. This universal churning brings out wickedness, which is the explosion of animal instincts. It also brings out beauty, which is the expression of fundamental spiritual values. As the churning proceeds, the life throws up poison, but in the end it brings forth nectar, too. This is symbolised in our Puranic story of *Samudra-manthan.*

—Replies to the Reader

UNIVERSITIES

In a university there are no conflicting interests and there should be none. There are no rulers and no ruled. There are no employers and workmen. All of them form an organic unity, the sole purpose of which is to extend the frontiers of knowledge and develop high character.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

UNIVERSITIES IN AMERICA

Most of the universities we visited are founded and supported by private benefactions. They have no perpetual elections such as we have; no teacher-politicians of the Indian brand; no horror of an appointed president; no aversion to his continuing to act as long as he works satisfactorily. Naturally, therefore, these universities are homes of learning, not the maladministered little caricatures of democratic government infested with constant intrigues, that some of our universities are.

The Board of Trustees or Regents appoints the Presidents who has the sole responsibility of administering the affairs of the university. The academic work is directed by the appropriate faculty, which, in its turn, is controlled by the senior professors. The teachers are selected by the faculties, approved by the President, and their appointment is confirmed by the Board. No professor tries to quarrel with the administrative control of the President and no teacher or student thinks that his control detracts from the autonomy of the University; all that is left to us.

The senior professors whom I met were without exception devoted to their work and possessed of high intellectual integrity. Their principal aim in life is to take an interest in their students and to carry on research in the subject they specialise in and increase the bounds of knowledge. I found them keen to encourage talent and provide facilities for promising students.

I know a typical case which happened when I was last in America. An Indian student passed his M.A. or M.Sc—I forgot which—but could not take his doctorate for want of means. I happened to mention his difficulty to one of the eminent professors I met. At his request I sent the student to him. He set him work and saw his calibre and earnestness. He then came to me and said, "I don't want to part with this boy. He is very promising. I will provide him with the means, don't you worry." True to his word, the professor provided the student with every facility and, when he took his doctorate, secured for him suitable employment in India. And when I met the professor this time, his first enquiry was about the student and his wife. He has been keeping in touch with him all these years.

—*The World We Saw*

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

You can take it from me that I am a staunch believer in the autonomy of a university. In the field of learning, men should be free to pursue their own line of thought, or to express their own opinions, so long as they are on an academic level.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

These ills—adverse conditions, political immaturity and spiritual lapses—can be cured only if our Universities rise to the occasion. They are no longer factories for turning out lawyers and officers to support the British rule; nor are they middlemen for distributing the doubtful gift of Western culture. They can no more continue to be the agencies for maintaining the mechanical and commercial system of holding examinations. They have to be the seats of Indian culture.

Our Universities are our only hope in the arduous task of building up the economic, intellectual and spiritual life of our nation. This age is invariably called the age of the common man, the age of mass uplift, the age of classless society, the age of every sweeping generalisation which the modern mind can invent. But in truth it is an age—like every other age—when the finest minds are needed to add to the dynamic strength of the country. For, only these minds, when trained by our Universities to the highest efficiency, can provide the superior intelligence, industry and force of character which will give to India the leadership of the world in action and thought. It will be catastrophic indeed if we sacrifice intensity to expansion, universities to elementary schools, the uncommon mind to the common; for, if the uncommon mind is allowed to run to waste, the common man will never be raised.

A new life, it is said, postulates a new education. The aim of our university education must therefore be co-extensive with the new and full life which now is ours. Nay, education, being an art, must have for its subject our whole present-day life, our political, social, economic and spiritual well-being. To attain this objective, the university must be like the *ashrama* of old. In such a seat of culture, education was a spiritual endeavour where the teacher sat surrounded by his pupils, imparting not merely knowledge but courage, restraint and dignity, not by precept but by example; where the student lived not in order to have his presence marked, nor to secure a pass, nor to go on strike and enjoy an ill-deserved holiday, but to learn the art of shaping his own life, the art of moulding himself by humility, *pranipata*; by developing a spirit of enquiry, *pariprashna*; by service, *seva*.

—Convocation Address at the University of Culture, 20th March 1948

To combine modern knowledge with ancient wisdom, to explore fresh fields of scholarship by research, and to inspire young men with a boundless love of knowledge, is the privilege and ought to be the aim of every university. Such tastes can only be imparted by the university teacher. But I miss the Brahminical spirit in the average professor and deplore it more than anyone else. It is, I realise, difficult for a teacher to keep this aim before him. I know that he is low-paid, ill-kept, often treated as a wage-earner without the wage-earner's right to improve his condition through trade union. It is wrong not to give to a man of learning sufficient to live on in moderate and assured comfort, and to drive him to seek other powers in order to improve his lot. A teacher is not a wage-earner; he is an apostle of culture. For centuries, we have maintained the true Brahminical spirit. It loves learning for its own sake; it abjures—willingly and consciously—the love of wealth and power which come to the successful professional man, business man or politician; it glorifies *aparigraha*—non-possession—as an inalienable incident of the sacred privilege of being left alone to scale the unsurmountable heights of knowledge. It finds no higher self-fulfilment than to inspire in the rising generation a boundless thirst for knowledge and a character tuned to high ideals for their own sake. The *rishi* surrounded by his devoted disciples, in an atmosphere of self-imposed discipline, of ceaseless pursuit of knowledge and ideals—that is a college, that is a university. When shall we awake to this realisation ?

*

Our universities must foster a love of literature.

—Convocation Address at the Banaras Hindu University, 20th November 1949

Let me tell you this quite frankly. The vast reservoir of human material represented by our young friends, whom I see before me, have not been prepared for the strenous work and determined leadership which Free India demands from everyone of her educated sons and daughters.

Unfortunately, the trend of education in our universities has been towards easy academic studies. Irregular class hours, over-crowded colleges working in shifts and similar ills have denied to our youth the vitality of a vigorous academic life. Naturally, education has been a failure. It has given no mental discipline, steadfast character nor stern self-restraint; and given neither the will nor the technique to work.

*

Our University cannot content itself with producing candidates for Government service or the professions. We can only meet the demand of the hour by a complete overhaul of our educational system; by 'education through collective work,' education, not only through books, lectures, classes and examinations; and certainly not through unions and meaningless debates; but education through hard, unremitting work which creates, builds up and transforms life. Except at the specialised stage, where intense intellectual work or research work has to be conducted, every teacher and every student must build, preserve and beautify his college; grow, as far as possible the food and vegetable needed; spin, weave, and dye the clothes he wears; dance, sing and play to develop a healthy attitude towards life; develop the muscle, and harden the body, steady the nerve, and train the eye by sports, drill and hard labour—till the college community, as one organisation, releases an enthusiastic will to transform drab life into creative joy.

—*Convocation Address at the Agra University, 6th December 1951*

Immediate steps should be taken to see that universities cease to be avenues for securing Government service, except where high professional and academic qualifications are required in the candidate. To raise our universities to a proper level of efficiency and usefulness, entrance to Government service should be only through competitive examinations at different levels of services.

University education, throughout, should be reorganised on a planned basis and its present set-up, which is a relic of the dead past, should be rebuilt. Once a degree ceases to be a passport to Government service, the existing universities would be sufficient to meet the demands of higher education for some time. But before they are made to suit the new conditions, more accommodation and equipment, a well-paid first-class staff, and funds for their full development, should be generously provided by the Government.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

I know that university education has a lure of its own. It has acquired an artificial status in modern India partly because it opens up careers. At the same time, it must not be lost sight of that education as at present imparted by the universities requires complete reorganisation. It is no longer formative in character and it more often than not produces a kind of egotism and arrogance inconsistent with the nobler aims of life.

*

The present tradition of learning can be modified easily enough. Students can be provided with comfortable libraries in which to study and week after week, reading may be prescribed, on which weekly or fortnightly essays should be written. In this way a major part of education would be performed by the students themselves.

Why should not the professor deliver a general lecture, divide the class into small size seminars in which the students themselves would discuss the subject dealt with by the lecture, and then make a report, followed by a general discussion in the class ?

A day divided between a general lecture, study in the library, seminars and general discussions would lead to better knowledge and greater mental development than lectures on every conceivable subject delivered with monotony and heard with impatience.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

After the fall of the League of Nations, the world again clamoured for a world organ, and the United Nations Organisation was founded. Though divided under the influence of the two great power blocks, it is a forum where words replace weapons and the world's conscience, more often than not, becomes an arbiter. Parallel with increased armaments, open propaganda is being employed to influence this conscience. Thus the whole world has shown its readiness to support the moral force of UNO.

That is where India comes in, as a protagonist of the power of moral force. We have only the weapons of a man of peace, a sense of fairness, a burning desire for peace and a faith in one world.

—*Address at the Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, Bombay, 10th December 1951*

The United Nations Organisation, once looked up to as the great solvent of national conflicts, has been found ineffective in solving the major issues as the veto renders it impotent to take any positive line in a crisis. Even when the issues are patently just they get lost in procedure.

At the same time, it must be recognised that, though the U.N.O. has not been able to assume the positive role of judging between right and wrong and enforcing its decision, it gives scope for second thoughts by the very dilatoriness which its procedure implies. It has become a forum in which persons interested in a controversy are heard and by so being heard, throw up solutions. If I were to find a motto for the United Nations, I would prefer the well-known Sanskrit maxim: *Ashubhasya Kaalaharanam*—"If things are inauspicious, kill time."

*

The United Nations Organisation has to become the instrument of power for enforcing a code of international behaviour universally accepted. Though it has failed to be such an instrument so far, conditions are being created, though very slowly, so that it might become such an instrument. Unless international behaviour, as envisaged in its Charter and in Pancha Sheela, becomes an effectively enforcible code, national stability will always be in danger of being disturbed, the free and small countries which are unable, as they have been, to throw up solidarity, will stand in danger of being overwhelmed.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol II*

UNTOUCHABILITY

Those social groups who did not conform to the cultural pattern of Aryan life were called the Shudras. However, they were continually being brought into the fold of *dwija* life on attaining accepted cultural habits. This process has continued throughout the ages and has been continuing till now. The belief that the Shudras were cast into a position of irredeemable social inferiority by wily priests and wicked kings, entertained by some Western scholars and inherited by a section of our educated men, is a myth. Untouchability, as we know in recent ages, was unknown during this (post-Vedic) period.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

Behind this structure, of which the caste system in general and untouchability in particular are the prime features, lies an ideology of hereditary social inequality. This ideology denies to millions of human beings the status of men. It deprives them of the right to move freely, to associate on equal terms with others, to worship the same gods, to be given a bare chance of life which we would be ashamed to deny even to a dog. It is based on the negation of social justice. It is the reverse of humanity. It has justified the greatest crime which man has committed against his brother.

*

Whoever sides with this untouchability is an enemy of the nation. He is not of this age.

*

With untouchability gone, four or five crores of human beings would have been elevated to the full stature of manhood. National evolution would have been easy and swift, and a powerful and united India would stand before the world in the full dignity of a modern nation.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

UPANAYANA AND GAYATRI

Upanayana is a ceremony to mark the transition of an ordinary boy into the stage of *brahmacharin* or a celibate student. The stage of *brahmacharya* was considered a very important one in the life of an Arya when he would live with his guru to study the *Vedas*. *Gayatri* being a Vedic *mantra*, it was prescribed that only after a man becomes a *brahmacharin* he should recite it.

The religious significance of *brahmacharya* having largely disappeared, *Upanayana* is only a ritual by which a boy is initiated into reciting the *Gayatri*. But even without *Upanayana*, if a man feels the urge, he can recite the *Gayatri mantra*.

—Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963

UPANISHADS

The word (*Upanishad*) is derived from the root *sad* with *upa* and *ni* and originally meant 'sitting down near' a Guru; it then secondarily meant 'confidential secret doctrine.'

The principal *Upanishads* are thirteen; but this number varies and collections of 108 or even 200 *Upanishads* are published or mentioned. The 13 principal *Upanishads* are : (1) *Brihad-Aranyaka*, (2) *Chandogya*, (3) *Taittiriya*, (4) *Aitareya*, (5) *Kausitaki*, (6) *Kena*, (7) *Katha*, (8) *Isa*, (9) *Mundaka*, (10) *Prasna*, (11) *Mandukya*, (12) *Svetasvatara*, and (13) *Maitreyi*.

—Bhavan's Journal, 23rd February 1958

UTTAR PRADESH

When some of us of Constituent Assembly were discussing new names for the States, some members from Uttar Pradesh came forward with the suggestion that United Provinces should be called Aryavarta. We turned it down; we were not prepared to remove other States to a non-Aryan belt. Ultimately they made the suggestion that United Provinces should be termed Uttar Pradesh, and someone said it was good that the State should continue to be U.P. A wag commented : "Yes, it will be 'U.P.'—'Under Pant' it is and 'Under Pant' it will remain." And I may add, whether Pantji is here or at Delhi, 'Under Pant' U.P. will remain.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

VAISHALI

Vaishali was famed for power, learning and beauty from the earliest times. The *Ramayana* calls it the 'best of towns'; *Vishnu Purana* refers to it with admiration. Possibly, it fell within the kingdom of Janaka Vaideha and echoed to the sweet laughter of Sita in her younger days.

2500 years ago, it was "the city of gods," happy, proud and prosperous; with abundant food; crowded with richly varied people; adorned with many storeyed mansions, towering palaces, noble gateways, and triumphal arches; surrounded by three forts; a city of flowers, gardens, groves and lotus ponds.

—Presidential Address at the Vaishali Festival, 7th April 1952

VANAMAHOTSAVA

It was to arouse mass consciousness regarding the significance of trees and to revive an adoration for these silent sentinels mounting guard on Mother Earth that I thought of the *Vanamahotsava*. It has in fact done so. Our target of a crore of trees was exceeded, and over three crores were planted. I have been repeatedly asked, how many of these trees have survived ? True, the number of survivals is not very large. It is estimated that for every five saplings planted one at least will live to grow into a tree. Our great task is to teach the man who plants a tree to adopt it as a child and rear it as such; this has to be a part of the national education. *Vanamahotsava* alone will inculcate this habit in the nation. The value of such national movements lies not in what is achieved in a single year, but, in its cumulative effect over a series of years. It is forest-mindedness which matters in the long run, not the number of trees actually planted.

—Convocation Address at the Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun, 31st March 1951

The *Vanamahotsava* has been initiated in Pakistan, and in some of the Middle East countries and a representative of the FAO who had been here said that this is a scheme which he would like to be fostered by the FAO itself so that the whole world can take up this important question.

—Food and People—Speech in Parliament, 7th April 1951

The *Vanamahotsava* is a great National Festival. On this day we revive the memories of our great and ancient forests—Nandana Vana, Vrindavana and Naimisharanya—which were the richest possessions of Aryavarta, now part of Uttar Pradesh.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I

VANDE MATARAM

As the Indian Renaissance unfolded itself under the pressure of nationalistic aspirations, the mystic power of Bharat Mata invested many spheres of life with a fiery zeal.

This is illustrated by the hold which Bankim's song *Vande Mataram* acquired over the Indian mind and influenced life, literature, politics and even religion. *Vande Mataram* was the Indian Renaissance's song of victory. It assumed the status, first of a national anthem and then of a national prayer. It uplifted the struggle for freedom into a God-given mission. It stirred the hearts of numberless young men and women to invite martyrdom by courting the gallows or offering themselves for arrest.

—Bhavan's Journal, 21st July 1963

VARNASHRAMA-DHARMA

This wonderful social synthesis—*Varnashrama-dharma*—provided an independence of social groups, the steel-frame which buttressed the social order and Dharma itself. We have been taught to blind overselves to all that this social order has done for us. But without this order we could not have offered resistance to the insidious advance of cultural disintegration which Europe carries among those alien people whom she seeks to exploit and enslave.

—Address delivered at the Vikramaditya Bi-Millennial Celebration,
Kanpur, 9th December 1943

We, who are blinded by an admiration of the social apparatus of the West, fail to realise that *chaturvarnya* was a marvellous social synthesis on a country-wide scale, when the rest of the world was weltering in a tribal state.

—Convocation Address at Gita Vidyalaya, Bombay, 20th July 1950

We, with our modern obsessions, look upon the caste system as a water-tight arrangement, which sanctions enduring inequality. *Varnashrama* was entirely different. It gave to each one a secure place in the class of his birth, but demanded for every one the right to assume the place his capacity and culture deserved. The four castes were interdependent components of one harmonious whole. Society was conceived as an association of the four fluid culture groups for the maintenance of social order as inspired and controlled by Dharma (Moral Law).

—*I Follow the Mahatma*

VEDAS

The divinity of the *Vedas*, the Word, very early became one of the most potent fundamental values of the Vedic Culture. It bound the communities together. It secured for those devoted to the Sacred Word—and incidentally to also those who dedicated themselves to creating values through learning—a pre-eminence in life. It was the Rock of Ages on which the culture rested, giving a base, a unity and a source of perennial inspiration. It provided a sense of mission to the community of Aryans.

The chanting of *Vedas* was not the exclusive privilege of the Brahmins, as it came to be believed later. Everyone was entitled to be taught the Sacred Word. "So may I teach these blessed words to all persons; to Brahmins and Rajanyas; to the Shudras as well as to Aryans all; to my own people and to the aliens as well," says the Sage.

—*Foundations of Indian Culture*

VEDIC SOCIAL ORDER

The belief in the *Vedas* as the ultimate source of Dharma gives to our people, to whatever race they belong, a conscious unity of life and history. The mythology which surrounds it embraces the sacred legends of rivers, mountains and cities, of heroes and sages, human and divine. The social organisation as shaped by it is based on family life dominated by patriarchal tradition; it affords shelter to every needy, helpless member; and imposes, as a corollary, a strict regard for feminine virtue, so essential to preserve the purity of race and culture. This social order is not based on class war, but an inalienable interdependence of social groups; on a hierarchy arranged according to the degree of culture attained by each.

—Address at the Vikramaditya Bi-Millennial Celebration, Kanpur, 9th December 1943

VEDIC LEARNING

I must draw your attention to the fact that even the methods of learning and preserving ancient knowledge have to be modified in the light of modern times. There will be few *Samhita-pathis* in this generation who will preserve the purity of accents in the *Vedas*. It is necessary that we should take advantage of scientific means such as gramophone records to get the whole of the *Vedas* preserved with proper accents. For many years I thought of so doing. Unfortunately, I could not acquire the means to achieve this stupendous task.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

VEGETARIANISM

Men and cattle and other living things want nutrition extracted from the soil through plants, trees and vegetation. Men, when not vegetarians, also draw their sustenance, though indirectly, through animal meat, from the same sources. Only a small part of it, in the shape of fish, is drawn from the water.

An important aspect of nutrition, which is often forgotten, is that nutrition received directly from the soil can sustain a much larger population than when it is derived from the soil indirectly through meat.

—Address at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Delhi, 27th September 1951

VIKRAMADITYA

Vikramaditya has been a great name, cherished for centuries in India. It has been associated with romance, song and fable. It has been linked with the memory of Kalidasa, one of the greatest of the world's poets. It evokes memories of the majesty which was the Gupta empire in India.

But, more than anything else, Vikramaditya is the one romantic figure who is inextricably woven into the fabric of Indian culture. In his mythical vividness he is more living than the monarchs of Indian history. His name evokes the eternity and the greatness of that vast phenomenon which is India; not the India in bondage, not the degenerate India aping foreign ways, but the India which has a soul of her own. His is the luminous figure shining out of the dim memory of a forgotten past; and he leads on to a destiny when culture in India will be leavened by dynamic political power, when power will be inspired by moral values which are intrinsically Indian.

*

To me, to you and to the whole of India, Vikramaditya is not a dead conqueror, but a living hero. Who has not heard of and revered this comrade of Kalidasa and patron of the nine literary masters? Where is the child in India, during countless years, whose imagination has not been fired by the friend of Vetal, who bore on his shoulders the elusive corpse which talked and talked and demanded an answer? Who has not yearned for the day when that mighty ruler will once again go about in disguise in our cities to learn of and redress our grievances? Have not generations lived in the hope of seeing once more the 'Paradukhabhanjan' who will live in order to relieve our misery? Of all the heroes known to our history and mythology, Vikramaditya is the only mortal whom the popular suffrage of centuries has enthroned side by side with Sri Ramachandra and Sri Krishna in the national pantheon. In him we live and he lives in us.

—Address delivered at the Vikramaditya Bi-Millennial Celebration, Kanpur, 9th December 1943

VILLAGE TANKS

Old India dug the village tank; British India neglected it; Free India is just realising its importance; and we are facing the consequences. Our difficulties will continue so long as village tanks remain unsilted, unrepaired, un-re-aligned to a larger catchment area. The task is vast indeed, and we have to do it in a few years. "How is that to be done?" a friend asks. I could find but one remedy and no other : " Land army—land army in every village—inspired by a mighty national wave of creative enthusiasm."

—*Janu's Death and Other Kulapati's Letters*

VINAYAKA IDOLS

Vinayaka idols are made of mud and intended only for temporary worship. If they are kept for long, they would be broken. It is, therefore, necessary to immerse them in water to prevent the idols which have been worshipped from being desecrated.

—*Bhavan's Journal 12th May, 1963*

VOWS

It is easy to take vows, but it is difficult to keep them under all circumstances. Vows, however, are good to prevent us from lapsing into error. At the same time, if we take a vow and then go on giving it up, it is not a vow at all, but a proof of our fickleness. The best thing would be to make solemn resolutions, and not to take a vow ; but if we take a vow, we should stick to it at all costs. Otherwise vows will lose their sanctity.

—*Replies to the Reader*

VRINDAVAN

The joy in our life, let us not forget, is interwoven with Vrindavan where Sri Krishna, who gave us the message of the Life Eternal, played His flute to the rythm of waving boughs and flowers dancing in the air.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

VULGARITY

Have the traditions of culture in this land fallen so low that women cannot go about without being molested by those who claim to be educated ? But more. I am provoked to say this because of an incident this morning. I was at a Volley-ball tournament, where young ladies were having their finals; and as some ladies passed, I heard jeering words and vulgar noises coming from some students. I was at a little distance. I wished the ladies had had the courage to slap those boys on the spot. I tell you, it was a disgraceful exhibition.

*

I know that the boys are free from vulgarity as individuals. I know that most of them are good and decent in their personal life ; but there is something cardinally wrong with an atmosphere, if individually decent young men have not acquired such elements of self-restraint in public as go to make for culture.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

VYASA

The world's greatest master was Vyasa. He did not write for his generation. Brahma created short-lived men and women. But this ' Brahma without four arms, this Hari with only two hands, this Shambhu without the third eye ' created a world of men and women who are ever living and ever inspiring. Let the grace of this greatest literary Master of all time descend upon us, that the beauty of our creations may rise to the skies. That is my prayer.

—*Presidential Address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Udaipur, 6th October 1945*

WAR

When a nation develops even a mock fury, when its army and its people work themselves up to a white-heat of passion, a moment comes when self-restraint disappears, and the rulers are stampeded into a military conflict. This has been the cause of many wars in the past.

—*Speech at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,*
Bombay, 27th July 1951

Wars are not caused by external circumstances; they are caused by selfishness, hatred in man for man, by bigotry and intolerance. In fact, modern war is an individual or collective wickedness projected on the vast screen of life. We make pathetic appeals for one world. Have we developed that sense of oneness with the whole world ?

We talk of the United Nations Organisation; we talk of the One World Movement; we talk of the message of the UNESCO: but in our heart of hearts we, our narrow selves, are parted from each other. We emphasise the frontiers which divide man from man and nation from nation. The fact is that the fundamental aspiration has been tragically isolated from individual life, and the individual life from the life of the organism. Even if sometimes we keep the aspiration alive by worship and prayer and festival, we do not allow it to transform life. The aspiration for light, freedom and love expressed in a sense of oneness is smothered; men and nations and classes hate one another in their pursuit of exclusive material welfare.

Our ordinary vision is woefully restricted; it is narrow, suicidal. Men deny the Spirit and assert material life. Some deny material life and assert the Spirit. Still more are just blind; they deal with the Spirit and material life as things apart. This is at the root of the world's tragic failure.

*

The Masters have proclaimed that it is Godlessness which causes frustration in life, and its logical end, war.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

WAR-MONGERS

The architects of the present war have been prophets of Death. They have changed the face of human society; made it inhuman, irreligious. Nations have been aligned into separate and hostile camps to be destroyed, to be crushed or transplanted. Their 'revolution' for improving the lot of man had chained him to the chariot-wheel of destruction. "You shall love peace as a means to new wars—and the short peace more than the long," was preached by their arch-prophet, Neitzsche.

—*Gandhi : The Master*

WASTAGE OF ENERGY

We waste our powers, at every moment of our life, in small things and big. We speak inaccurately; it is a waste. We waste our energy in fidgeting, when we ought to be sitting still. We waste time in gossip, in fruitless efforts, in an unmethodical distribution of our time, calling it freedom. How many moderns waste the best part of life, say in golf or bridge, when they should be achieving the same physical vigour or mental relaxation in a hundred useful ways?

And with the mind. We splash about our mental energy, like urchins dancing in the sea. Very little examination is necessary to convince one of the criminal waste of our mental powers. We feel we are busy when all we are doing is to waste our mental powers in an unregulated, diffused manner. If we want to 'become', we dare not waste the energies of our machine wherewith we have to attain results. If a man has to approach God, if he has to be His instrument, he cannot offer to Him something which leaks at every point.

—*The Bhagavad-Gita : An Approach*

WELFARE STATE

The concept of the Welfare State, as envisaged by the Socialists, emphasises the economic aspect of the State to the exclusion of its moral and spiritual functions. This lop-sided emphasis has led to the suppression of freedom not only by giving the State complete control over the material resources of a country, but also by reliance on violence and untruth, by satisfying the passion for collective acquisitiveness based on class hatred. Naturally, it has tended to lead nations towards totalitarianism and a denial of the life of the Spirit.

The Sarvodaya Order is the legitimate outcome of the Welfare State—the State viewed not as a mere economic and social unit, but as a human aggregate regulated by moral and spiritual law.

*

A Social Welfare State like ours, in the very nature of things, would require a country-wide regulation and control. Its directions and influence have to go out far and wide and encompass many spheres of national life. Without them it would be impossible to secure social and economic justice with rapidity.

In spite of this country-wide regulation we have to escape the danger of sacrificing individual dignity and democratic freedom to a hunger for swift changes. The changes have to be achieved, no doubt, but, in view of our heritage, without the cost of human life, as is done elsewhere. Nor can we achieve them by regimentation at the point of the bayonet. India, therefore, has to combine a country-wide regulation of its resources and economic activities with powerful spontaneous movements in which the people themselves take an initiative.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

WESTERNISM

I have come to consider Westernism as the curse of mankind. According to its tenets, enthusiasm is meaningless. Death has no purpose. Faith is fraud. Belief in oneself is but pitiful illusion. All must fight for communal or private utility and personal advantage. The human spirit is thus being degraded and weakened. Moral energy is being destroyed all over the world.

—*Sparks from the Anvil*

During the British rule we were hypnotised into a belief that most things were wrong with us and that, in order to be advanced, we must ape the West. We forgot to evolve on our own lines; we are now paying the price for it. We have our share of young men, irresponsible, receiving their education through sexy films which they go to see in bush-coats embroidered with figures of cinema stars; also of giggling, empty-headed young women whose aim in life is to attend club room in paint varnish. India cannot be built by these imitation Westernists.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II*

The basis of Westernism is materialism. It is a way of life entirely different from Indian culture, the way of our life. It is based on individual self-indulgence and collective greed, fear and hatred. It resolves round the central idea that a man is no more than his needs and passions; that an organised attempt to satisfy them is the prime motive in life. It has produced dictatorships, class wars and totalitarianism. It has organised materialism in a sort of militant Church. It has fostered revolutionary wars, and the psychological and physical rape of humanity on a colossal scale. It has discarded self-discipline as an essential factor in human development and denied supremacy to the Moral Order. It has destroyed the sanctity of marriage and domestic life. It has mobilised man's capacity to hate and has produced domestic maladjustments, national hatreds and world exploitation. The world has no meaning for it except as a field for the organised gratification of appetites.

—*The Creative Art of Life*

WIDOW MARRIAGE

Some *Shastras* permit widow marriage in emergencies. But if women are equal—and they are—there is no reason why they should be precluded from marrying again; when men go on marrying not twice but sometimes thrice and four times.

—*Replies to the Reader*

WOLF-BOY

When I first saw the wolf-boy a few days after he came to the Hospital, at about the end of January, he had already been shorn of his long, unkempt, bedraggled locks. There were scars on his scalp, temples, forehead and many of his bony prominences—

most of them healed. He had a haggard, starved, frightened look. He refused to face the light, and he had a strange, vacant glare which was turned away from men.

His sharp double-rowed upper teeth protruded from his pinched mouth, which normally remained open, saliva dripping from it on both sides. He never responded to any one's call. When his ribs were poked to attract his attention, he turned his eyes to the poker with a great effort, and emitted a weak, thin cry of annoyance. Either he had been born dumb or, for lack of human company, had never learnt to speak. His hearing seemed unimpaired, even sharp, though he could utter no human sound.

His hands and feet were nothing but skin and bone. One could see no muscles on them worth the name. He could neither walk nor stand and obviously had not done so for years, if ever. He had what in medical language are called 'contractures' of his limbs. He could neither use his hands at will, nor knew how to use them as we do. The palms of his hands were as soft as a baby's but the fingers were claw-like and he kept them closed. This was particularly so in the case of his left hand, the nails of which were long-curved. Evidently, his only mode of locomotion had been slithering along with the aid of his elbows, as if he had lived in some small cavity, which left no room for standing up.

When first he came, he rejected all cooked food and if it was given forcibly he would throw it out. Only when raw meat was brought to him, did his eyes brighten, his nose dilate, and he began to sniff. He could smell it even at a considerable distance and would take it with great relish, chewing it only once or twice, and straightaway swallowing it down. Even now, after fourteen weeks in the Hospital, he prefers raw meat to cooked food. And there must be no cup, no glass, for this nature's child : the only art he had known was to put his whole mouth into the saucer and lap the water in the manner of dogs !

He had none of our inhibitions with regard to excretory functions ; he was just an animal.

Meanwhile, Ramu simply does not recognise human things. Even his self-constituted 'mother' evokes but little response in him. But when an Alsatian dog is brought to him, his interest wakens and he calsps him in an embrace.

It was a case for Sherlock Holmes. Was he a wolf-boy, a mentally retarded child, a speechless cripple, or someone who had been forced deliberately and most heartlessly to grow up deformed ?

—*Wolf Boy and Other Kulapati's Letters*

WOMEN IN AMERICA

In America a woman is free as in no other country on earth. The stores, with their magnificent shop windows, are mainly intended for her. More often than not she is as educated as her husband if not more so. She is passionately devoted to beauty, strength and smartness. She enjoys all the benefits of the formal courtesies which the canons of chivalry impose upon men. As a rule, she is a member of one or more women's associations where the spirit of ' We women ' finds full expression. And she is fully conscious of her position and prestige.

—*The World We Saw*

WOMEN IN INDIA

Our womanhood has become free and has been recognised as equal. Women are welcomed in all fields of life. They have not had to struggle like the women in England, to secure equality. They are not denied to politics or business, as in America. Thus the future of India is bound up with the tremendous vitality which educated women can bring into the life of the nation, if, after their education is complete, they go out to the countryside and bring enlightenment, solace and strength to the millions of women who are now living under old-world conditions.

*

There is a superstitious belief among the educated men in modern India that in the pre-British period our women were treated as slaves. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, however, women in India under the Hindu Law, enjoyed, period for period, a higher position than in any other country in the world.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

Slaves, our women have never been; we thought them so because our vision was distorted by lack of historical perspective.

Unlike British women, or their own grand-mothers of the thirteenth century, they were unable to leave the protective ramparts of the family and the caste. At a time when India was ruled by those who considered the indiscriminate kidnapping and abduction of women to be their inherent right, what else was possible ?

—City of Paradise and Other Kulapati's Letters

WORD

Of all the forces which bind man and make him a social and cultural being, the most powerful is the word. In that sense, the worship of the word—Shabda Brahma—is one of the most pervasive forces of life.

—Address delivered at the Ganganath Jha Institute,
Allahabad, 15th December 1951

WORLD CONFLICT

The conflict in the world is not between Capitalism and Socialism; it is not between the East and the West; it is not between Peace and War. It is between the God-minded and the Godless, between the Devas and the Danavas.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

WORLD GOVERNMENT

The concept of World Government is as old as the Vedic Aryans. Varuna was to them the universal governor; *Rita*, his law, governed men and beasts, birds and stars; and they envisaged that the whole universe should be ruled by *Rita* and made Aryan.

This idea of a *Chakravarti*, the world-emperor, was born later. He was *Samrat* and *Ekarat*, the world's ruler, as proclaimed by the *Brahamanas*.

A little later still, when the *Gita* was composed, Sri Krishna was recognised as the protector of the eternal Dharma and as such the upholder of the world. But the basis of this unity was the one-world consciousness realised by the *yogis*. "Those who see Me in all, and all in Me" were the wise ones. The world to them was one family.

—Address at the Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights,
Bombay, 10th December 1951

There will be no permanent world peace unless nations voluntarily accept the unity of the world and the necessity for a federal World Government. If we do not progress towards a world government of some sort, the earth will be exploded by Hydrogen Bombs.

—Replies to the Reader

WORLD WARS I AND II

9,700,000 men were killed in World War I, the aim of which was to destroy militarism, to end all wars and to make the world safe for democracy. The war was won; bankruptcy followed in several countries; German militarism grew more formidable than in 1914; democracy retreated throughout half the World, losing its sense of mission.

Between 1920 and 1939, honourable men pledged themselves to 4,568 treaties of peace. The same men tore them to pieces and fought World War II, in which 54,800,000 men and women died, were missing or presumed dead. For every man who died, was wounded or lost, a mother, a widow or a sister was left heartbroken and, in most cases, a child became destitute.

The war succeeded in disarming one totalitarian power to give birth to another more powerful one. The result? Half the world bankrupt: localised wars and a universal cold war : a world more armed than ever before : the dread of atomic warfare and universal destruction : and worst of all, the break-up of the sanctity of life, which the seers took centuries to establish, and a godless challenge to all things of the Spirit.

—Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. II

WORSHIP

In worshipping a deity we must not try to trace his ancestry too logically. Worship is an act of faith, not a question of heraldry.

—Replies to the Reader

YOGA

We have in our ignorance perverted even beautiful words. No word, for instance, has been more abused than the word 'yoga.' *Yoga*, in America, is a kind of hocus-pocus. In this and some other countries, it is advertised by charlatans; in the name of *Yoga* one will bury himself underground, and another try to poison himself without committing suicide. *Yoga* is often confused with retirement into the Himalayas or sitting between five fires. The *Yogi* has become 'Jogi'; the 'Jogi' has become the 'Jogida'; from the man who has merged himself in God he has become a man with matted hair and the minimum of clothing, who begs in the streets.

We have forgotten that *Yoga* is transforming life by means of the Spirit expressing itself through words, deeds and personality.

—*Convocation Address at the Bihar Sanskrit Association, Muzaffarpur, 8th April 1952*

The highest stage of *yoga* is *dhyan* (meditation) and *samadhi* (creative concentration); they are part of *yoga.*

—*Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963*

YOGANIDRA

Yoganidra is a term generally applied to a state of mind in which the conscious mind is merged with the Absolute. It is a wakeful state in the sense that it is not sleep.

—*Bhavan's Journal, 12th May 1963*

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia, though it uses Marxian slogans, has none of the stifling regimentation which characterises the Communist countries. Religion is not interfered with, nor is there any doctrination against it. In fact, the Orthodox Church has the support of the Government. Roman Catholicism, though looked upon with suspicion as the associate of the Germans in the old days, also exists. Men who belong to the ruling party, however, do not openly profess a religion, though they are not prohibited from attending churches.

There is considerable freedom of discussion. We discussed quite a few problems with lawyers, professors and leading men. Even the courts function with freedom unless the State is involved, and the lawyers as a class are not wedded to the party line. People can go in and out of the country with comparative freedom. There are only two fundamentals which no one dares to ignore: first, there is one-party rule; secondly, Marshall Tito is the head of the State. Those who dispute it, like Djilas in his forthright book *The New Class*, soon find themselves behind prison bars. And people are happy to support these fundamentals because every moment they face the danger of being overwhelmed by Communism of the Soviet brand.

—*The World We Saw*

ZAMINDARI ABOLITION

The abolition of Zamindari has necessarily created a number of problems, but it is satisfactory to note that these are being solved successfully and efficiently. As an example, I should like to refer to the new machinery devised for collecting land revenue.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

ZEST IN LIFE

Without poetry, music, dance and drama, there is no zest in living. However intellectual you may be, or however successful you may become, without this zest life is a drab and tedious process. It is the joy of living which elevates life and all its purposes.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

ZOO

Whatever the value of a Zoo may be to the grown-ups, to the children it is a mysterious world full of beauty and awe.

—*Sparks from a Governor's Anvil, Vol. I*

INDEX

Absolute Integration, 10
Academic Freedom, 10
Acharya, 11
Action, 11
Adventure, 11
Aghoris, 11
Agricultural Education, 12
Ajanta Caves, 12
Alien Culture, 12
Ancient India, 12
Animals, 13
Arabian Nights, 13
Armed Forces, 14
Art of Writing, 14
Aryans, 14
Aryavarta, 15
Ashram, 15
Aspiration, 16
Astrology, 16
Atman, 17
Atomic Age, 17
Atomic War, 17
Atomic Weapons, 18
Author, 18
Avatar, 18
Ayurveda, 19
Ayurvedic Education, 19

B

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, 20
Beauty, 20
Beautiful Life, 21
Beautiful Woman, 21
Berlin, 22
Bhakra Nangal, 22
Bhakti Movement, 22
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 23
Bharat Mata, 23
Bharat Sewak Samaj, 24
Bhats, 24
Bombay, 25
Books, 25
Brahmacharya, 26
Brahmin, 26
Brutality, 26
Buddha, Lord, 26

C

Casteism, 28
Chaitanya, 28
Chandigarh, 28
Chief Minister and Colleagues, 29
Christian Missions, 29
Cinemas, 29
Cities, 29
Citizenship, 30
Civil Liberties During an Emergency, 30
Classical Studies, 36
Co-existence, 36
Colleges, 37
Colonialism, 37
Commercialised Vice, 37
Communism, 28
Communism and Socialism, 39
Concept of Law in America, 39
Congress, 40
Congress Leadership, 40
Congress Library of America, 41
Consciousness, 41
Consecrated Act, 42
Constitution of India, 42

Contraceptives, 43
Controls, 43
Convocation, 43
Cosmic Rays, 44
Cotton, 44
Cow, 44
Creative Education, 45
Creative Power, 46
Criticism of Courts, 46
Culture, 47
Culture Crisis, 50
Cycle of Life, 51

D

Dance-Drama, 52
Dancing, 52
Dandi March, 52
Dayananda Saraswati, 53
Dedicated Life, 53
Deficit Financing, 54
Delhi—Old and New, 55
Democracy, 55
Dentists, 56
Destiny of Man, 56
Devanagri Script, 56
Devotion to Duty, 58
Dharma, 58
Discipline, 59
Disintegration, 60
Doctors, 60
Domestic Life in America, 60
Dowry, 61
Dravidians, 62
Duty, 62

E

Eclipse, 63
Economic Blocks, 63
Economic Development, 63
Economists, 64
Educated Men and Agriculture, 65
Education, 65
Elections, 65
English Education, 66
English Language, 66
English Literature, 66
Enjoyment, 67
Enthusiasm, 68
Ethico-Spiritual Order, Bases of, 68
Europeans, 70
Excavations, 70
Existence of God, 71
Exploitation of Land, 71

F

Faith, 72
Faith-cures, 72
Family Planning, 72
Farmer, 73
Fear, 74
Fear of War, 75
Festivals, 75
Five-Year Plan, 76
Flood Control, 76
Food Minister, 77
Food Problem, 77
Force, 77
Forests, 77
Foreign Aid, 78
Foreign Bread, 79
Foreign Policy, 79
Foreign Propaganda, 79
Foundation of Civilization, 79
Free Country, 80
Freedom, 80
Freedom of Thought, 81
Free Education, 81

Freud, 82
Frustration, 82
Fundamental Rights, 82
Fundamental Values of
Culture, 83
Future Life, 83

G

Gandhiji, 84
Gandhiji's Assassination, 85
Gandhiji's Leadership, 86
Gandhiji's Letters, 86
Gandhiji's Literature, 86
Gandhian Logic, 87
Gandhism *vs.* Marxism, 87
Ganga, 88
Gayatri Mantra, 88
Geishas of Japan, 89
General Elections, 89
Gita, 90
Gita—Right Approach, 91
Glass-walled Houses, 93
Gopashtami Week, 93
Gospel of the Dirty Hand, 93
Gotra, 94
Government, 94
Government Jobs, 94
Governors, 95
Gramdan Movement, 95
Grammar, 95
Great National Revolt, 96
Greenery, 96
Group Idea, 96
Gujarat, 97
Gujaratis, 97
Gujarati Language, 98
Guru, 98
Gurukul Vishva Vidyalaya, 98

H

Hamlet, 99
Happiness, 99
Har-ki-pairi, 99
Hathyoga, 100
Health and Vitality, 101
Heaven and Hell, 101
Heroism, 101
Higher Education, 101
Himalayas, 102
Hindi, 102
Hindi-English Controversy, 104
Hindustani Language, 105
Hinduism, 106
History, 110
Holi, 111
Holiday, 111
Hollywood Culture, 112
Home Life, 112
Hooka, 112
Horse, 113
Hospitality in America, 113
Human Nature, 114
Human Voice, 114
Human Welfare, 114
Humility, 115
Hunger, 115
Hunger-strike, 115

I

I.N.A. Trial, 117
Independence, 117
India in World Affairs, 118
Indian Art, 118
Indian Art—Artisans, 120
Indian Culture, 121
Indian Delegations, 123
Indian History, 123

Indian Leadership, 124
Indian Literature, 124
Indian Renaissance, 124
Indian Soldier, 125
Indian Territories, 125
India's Mission, 125
Industrialisation, 126
Industrialists, 126
Industrial Revolution and Religion, 126
Intensive Cultivation, 126
Intensive Study, 127
Internal Security, 127
International Outlook, 127
Intolerance, 128

J

Jainism, 129
Japa, 129
Japan, 129
Jawaharlal Nehru, 130
Jews, 131
Journalism, 132
Journalist, 132
Judge, 133
Juvenile Delinquency, 133

K

Kadambari, 134
Kalidasa, 134
Karma Theory, 135
Kashmir Issue, 135
Knowledge, 135
Krishna, Lord, 136
Kula, 136
Kulapati's Letters, 136
Kumaon, 137

L

Labour Welfare, 139
Lady Workers, 139
Land Army, 139
Land Transformation, 139
Language, 140
Language and Unity of a Country, 140
Lasting Peace, 141
Late Dinners, 141
Law—Rule of—How Maintained, 142
Lawyers, 143
Law Teacher in America, 145
Leadership, 145
Legal Profession, 146
Leprosy, 146
Libraries in Ancient India, 147
Library, 147
Literary Artist, 147
Literary Man—The Craft of, 148
Literature, 149
Linguism, 150
Little Children, 150
Local Bodies, 151
Love, 151

M

Magicians, 152
Mahabharata, 152
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan, 152
Manners, 153
Manu Smriti, 153
Marriage, 154
Mass Action, 155
Material Comforts, 155

Materialism, 155
Mathura, 156
Mayavada, 157
Medical Education, 157
Medical Profession, 157
Medical Science, 157
Minimum Wages, 158
Ministers and
  Administration, 158
Mixed Economy, 159
Miracles, 159
Modern Art, 159
Modern Education, 159
Modern Scholarship, 159
Monogamy, 159
Moral and Spiritual
  Values, 160
Morality, 160
Moral Vacuum, 160
Mother Tongue, 163
M.R.A., 164
Music, 164
Mythologies, 165

N

Nagas, 166
Naimisharanya, 166
Narada, 166
Narsi Mehta, 166
Nation, 167
National Emergency, 167
National Greatness, 168
National Language, 172
National Security, 172
Nature, 173
Negation, 173
N.C.C., 174
Night Shows, 174
Nirvana, 174
Noble Life, 175
Non-competitive Society, 175
Non-violence, 175
Non-violent Resistance, 176
Novelist, 177

O

Object of Education, 178
Omens, 178
Oratory, 178
Our Ancient Culture, 178
Overpowering Bigness, 179

P

Panchashila, 180
Panchayats, 180
Parliamentarians, 180
Party Membership, 180
Past Life, 181
Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai, 181
Peace, 183
Perfection, 183
Perfect Man, 184
Personality, 184
Police Force, 184
Political Agitation and Students,
  185
Politician, 185
Politics, 185
Population Problem, 185
Poverty, 186
Prayer, 186
Primary Obligation, 187
Printing Press, 188
Priorities, 188
Private Enterprise, 188
Procurement of Food, 188
Prohibition, 189
Public Expenditure, 189

Puranas, 189
Purdah, 190
Purpose of Life, 190

R

Rajaji, 191
Ramachandra, 191
Ramacharitamanas, 192
Ramakrishna Paramhansa, 192
Rani of Jhansi, 192
Realisation of God, 193
Re-birth, 193
Recital, 193
Red-tapism, 194
Redwood Tree, 194
Regional Languages, 194
Religion, 195
Religion in the True Sense, 196
Religious Books, 196
Religious Education, 196
Religious Faith, 197
Repentance, 197
Republic, 197
Right Action, 197
Right to Reputation, 198
Rights *vs*. Duties, 199
Riots, 199
Rishi, 199
Rituals, 200
Rule of Law, 200
Rural Life, 201

S

Sacred Thread, 202
Sadhus, 202
Salvation of the World, 202
Sanatana Dharma, 203
Sankara Bhagavatpada, 203
Sanskrit, 204
Sanskrit—Its Unifying Power, 204
Saraswati, 207
Sarvodaya Order, 208
Satyagraha, 208
Scholars, 209
Science, 209
Scriptures, 210
Secondary Education, 212
Secular State, 212
Self-realisation, 213
Self-respect, 213
Sex, 213
Sex and Sexual Intimacy, 214
Sheep and Goat, 215
Shivalinga, 215
Shiva-Shakti Worship, 215
Shrines, 216
Sikh Community, 216
Silence, 217
Silent Mind, 217
Slave, 217
Smoking, 218
Social Control, 218
Socialistic Pattern of Society, 218
Social Revolution, 219
Social Sciences, 219
Social Service, 219
Social Worker, 219
Sociology, 220
Soil and Spirit, 221
Solitude, 221
Somnath Temple, 222
Sovereignty, 222
Speech on 73rd Birthday, 223
Spirit, 227
Spirit-calling, 227

Spirit—The Way of the, 228
Spiritual Energy, 229
Spiritual Knowledge, 229
Spiritual War, 229
Starvation Deaths, 229
Statistics, 230
Sterilisation, 230
Stone Idol, 230
Strength, 230
Struggle for Freedom, 231
Student Discipline, 231
Students in America, 232
Study of India's Past, 232
Success in Life, 232
Suffering, 233
Supernatural Powers, 233
Swadhyaya, 233
Sweden, 234
Symbol Worship, 235

T

Taj Mahal, 236
Tapas, 236
Teachers, 236
Technical Skill, 237
Technical Words in Hindi, 237
Temple Bells, 238
Top Soil, 238
Totalitarian *vs*. Democratic States, 238
Town Planning, 239
Tradition, 240
Trees, 240
True Education, 241
Truth, 241
Truth as I See It, 242
Tuft, 247

U

Unity, 248
Universal Peace, 248
Universities, 248
Universities in America, 248
University Autonomy, 249
University Education, 250
U.N.O., 253
Untouchability, 254
Upanayana and Gayatri, 255
Upanishads, 255
Uttar Pradesh, 255

V

Vaishali, 257
Vana Mahotsava, 257
Vande Mataram, 258
Varnashrama-Dharma, 258
Vedas, 259
Vedic Social Order, 259
Vedic Learning, 260
Vegetarianism, 260
Vikramaditya, 260
Village Tanks, 261
Vinayaka Idols, 262
Vows, 262
Vrindavan, 262
Vulgarity, 262
Vyasa, 263

W

War, 264
War-mongers, 265
Wastage of Energy, 265

Welfare State, 265
Westernism, 266
Widow Marriage, 267
Wolf-Boy, 267
Women in America, 269
Women in India, 269
Word, 270
World Conflict, 270
World Government, 270
World Wars I and II, 271
Worship, 271

Y

Yoga, 272
Yoganidra, 272
Yugoslavia, 272

Z

Zamindari Abolition, 274
Zest in Life, 274
Zoo, 274

Bhavan's Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya ★ Bharatiya Vidya
474

भारतीय विद्या भवन
अमृतं तु विद्या
मुंबई